

# The Commons

SEPTEMBER, 1904

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# The Commons

Number 9—Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, September, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Crisis in Organized Labor.

It will be interesting to note how the Labor Day speakers, who really represent the unions, will regard the present crisis in Organized Labor. For there has been no such crucial crisis in the whole history of industrial relationship in America as that with which the country is now faced. It is a crisis which places the nation between the lines; lines of defense and aggressive action on which employers and employing capital are organizing, upon essentially the same basis for their own interests as those upon which trades unionism has organized the employes to protect and advance theirs. Will labor's spokesmen on the platform and in the labor press size up the situation to be as large as it really looms in fact upon the horizon of the history we are now making? Will the country-wide editorial comment called forth by Labor Day and its utterances take the situation seriously and sanely enough to measure up its momentous proportions?

Labor needs to take the largest view it can of its crisis. For the dramatic concurrence of two great facts has forced the tragedy upon which it has entered. The fact of the power of organized labor never really dawned upon the whole country until the Anthracite Coal Miners' union compelled the powerful mining and railway corporations of Pennsylvania to arbitrate their differences with them at the call of the

President of the United States. Then, for the first time, the power which had silently been gathering with comparatively little opposition or attention through all these years of its obscurity since the Civil War, suddenly surprised the public mind and won popular favor throughout the land. It is to be noted and emphasized that this greatest victory of organized labor crowned the most conspicuously peaceful stand it ever took for its rights.

Second to this national recognition of their power is the fact that labor organizations, at some of the greatest centers and in some most unfortunately conspicuous local crises, failed to have any adequate sense of their responsibility for the power which they unjustly and even recklessly wielded. Of course, "great" corporations and many employers had been known to abuse their power as badly and boldly. But the public had gotten more used to such conspiracies of the few to exploit the many. When the unions of New York City allowed a Sam Parks to levy such blackmail upon its industries, as those of San Francisco and Chicago have also suffered, even though it was aided and abetted everywhere by some employers and corrupt city officials, as District Attorney Jerome is about to prove, it marked a turn of the tide of popular sentiment against the unions. Then came the outbreaks of violence, here and there, chiefly against non-

union men, to force employers unwillingly to support the "closed-shop" policy. These irresponsible abuses culminated in the lawlessness of all parties to the Colorado situation, which pitted the Western Federation of Miners against the civic and military authorities of that state.

The reaction from popular favor to reserved judgment at best, and to bitter and even violent intolerance against unionism at worst, has been gathering great numbers and influence during the year. Its fury is spending itself in the Colorado type of "Citizens' Alliances" which cannot long survive the re-assertion of law and order. But Employers' Associations are the formidable defensive and aggressive forces which are left in the wake of the reaction for trades unions to reckon with for all time to come.

Yet this array of force and organization, so far from denying or ignoring the power of organized labor, is the most emphatic sort of a recognition that it, too, is to be reckoned with to the end. For they are being marshalled and massed for no other really practical purpose than to hold labor organizations responsible for the way they wield their great power.

But the trades unions have nothing to fear outside of their organization, nearly so dangerous to it or their cause as the failure of their own members and officers to appreciate how responsible they are and will sternly be held to be, for the use they make of the power they are conceded to have. Will they rise to regard it as the serious civic and social trust legitimately committed to them by their great constituencies? Will they accept and use it for the whole mass of wage-earners, more than for the exclusive benefit of their own

minority membership? Will they rely enough upon their power to resist the get-strong-quick temptation to violence and radicalism? Can they be patient and confident enough to await the legitimate growth which will keep pace with the real advantage their membership proves itself to be to every worker? Will they have enough public spirit and patriotism to regard unions not only as essential to the quality and prosperity of American industry, but as one of the strongest and best law-making, law-keeping forces in American society, strictly accountable alike to the courts and to public opinion?

This is the real and only crisis that organized labor faces in America—whether it can and will be loyal to its own high ideals and true to the conscience of its rank and file?

Nothing outside of itself can overthrow its power. Nothing will so surely defeat it and make sick the hearts of its adherents and friends with hope deferred, as irresponsibility toward the solemn trust of that power.

Judging from the past,—the longer past—the future is secure. For "the movement," as its best leaders are wont to call it when falling back from its excrescences to its essential sanction, has proved itself to be more than an organization. Fundamentally trades unionism is based on that sentiment of brotherhood whose movement from within has had a way of keeping its members from being drawn or driven apart either from each other or from the mass of their fellows by the rivalries or roughness of "the organization." In England, against far greater odds, "the movement" has lodged itself within the very law which for centuries proscribed it and is counted among the



forces depended upon to preserve public order, promote wise legislation and perpetuate the justice and beneficence of good government. Here in America, with the odds so much in its favor as to tempt it to be over confident of its ability, trades unionism can scarcely be so untrue to the promise of its past, as not to have enough of a "movement" upward and onward to rise above the wrong methods and move beyond the unworthy standards of all its organizations.

### **Will the Churches Help the Nation in the Industrial Crisis?**

If the crisis in our industrial situation lies fundamentally more in the moral than in the economic relations of the contestants, it raises the question, what help can the churches give the nation? We do not and ought not ask whether they can or will help either "side" in the controversy, for they ought not to "take sides." If they do, they can help neither of them, much less the nation. But they have to do with men, with these men who are on both sides of this fratricidal strife, every man of whom needs whatever help they have to give him under the strain and stress of the moral test by which every one of them, in the right or wrong, is being tried.

If they cannot help this hard-pressed man by being partisan, neither can they do so by being non-committal where right and wrong are clearly at stake.

The country expects the churches of Colorado for instance to stand for the right of every man to a trial by jury and against the mob-violence by which "Citizens' Alliances" are "deporting" men. The nation needs the help of these churches to re-assert the supremacy of law in their state. No compromise will stand the test of the right-

eousness they themselves profess. Perhaps they are helping to constitute the "new alliance" which is said to have taken its stand for justice and order between the "Citizens' Alliance" and "The Western Federation of Miners."

The censorship of the churches, however, is not needed so much as the higher ideal and more human fellow-feeling that have too largely disappeared from industrial relationship. Ecclesiastical as well as political proscription of economic theory—even if it be as radical as Socialism, is likely to react everywhere as in Wisconsin. The rejoinder of the State Federation of Labor to the declaration of war against Socialism by the Roman Catholic Church took the form of resolutions calling on "working men, including farmers and the masses in general" to "study the principles of Social Democracy and vote for the only party pledged to the emancipation of labor." While deprecating "every effort to inject religious issues into the labor movement," it avows its "earnest endeavor in the future as in the past not to antagonize religions of any kind." But it significantly added the warning, "at the same time we also expect that no religious denomination will antagonize the trades movement or interfere with it." The Bishop replies ex-cathedra: "The time has come when the Catholic Church must raise up its voice and denounce Socialism in no uncertain terms." So it has long been doing in Belgium, France and Germany and with what effect? But Bishop Mesmer carefully discriminated in favor of trades unions.

The Baptist City Missionary Society in New York City sets an example of another type. When the Tammany Board of Education cut off the appropriation for the well established and

highly appreciated "Vacation Schools" just as the people expected them to open to their children, this church society stepped in the breach and assumed the expense of opening a dozen or more school houses for the children of the working poor.

The nation needs the help of all its churches in holding up the standard of an unselfish life which all religions teach, and in exemplifying that blending of righteousness and brotherly love, at whatever "cross" of self-sacrifice, which is the distinctive law and glory of the Christian faith. The pronouncements of the Autumn ecclesiastical assemblies on the industrial crisis of the nation, will be awaited with expectancy by many, but with hopeless indifference by not a few. The Congregationalists have a Standing Committee on Labor, to whose report a whole session of their Triennial Council is to be devoted next month.

### **Responsibility for Prolonging the Packing Trade Strike.**

The question as to "who blundered away the Packers' pact?" which we had time only to raise last month, is answered by one who knows more of the facts than any one else, in his article in this issue on "The Community's Interest in the Stock Yards Strike." It clearly appears from the course of events, irrespective of this statement of them, that the opportunity to arbitrate this inhumanly prolonged struggle was lost by the employers' blunder, or worse, and the unjustifiable haste in which some of the union men precipitated the second strike before it was called by their officers. The appearance of the "discrimination," outlawed by the agreement of July 20, could have been avoided at all the packing houses, as

it was at three of them, by the exercise of the precautionary common sense urged upon the managers by the union's president, Mr. Donnelly. Foreseeing the trouble, which any one can imagine, in selecting between 22,000 applicants for the far fewer places ready for them, he requested that only so many be admitted to the yards each day as could be put to work that day. The firms that acceded to this reasonable suggestion had no trouble in putting their full force at work. But the largest of them ordered "all to return on the same day." And they did, only to "walk out" again, at this rough, but not ready, way of re-employing them "without discrimination." It is quite inconceivable that this blundering, methodless manner of doing what at best would have been a delicate and difficult thing to manage, could not have been avoided,—if, indeed, those charged with it cared to avoid trouble. It is equally extraordinary that the packers' statement to the Chicago public, made no allusion to this alleged breach of the pact which was the occasion for the second strike, but only charged the unions with breaking their agreement.

On the other hand there is nothing to prove that the union officers passed up their demand for an explanation of the discrimination, apparently shown in re-employing their men, over the foremen's heads to the principals with whom they had just made the pact. Indeed there is evidence that they had no chance to do so before some of the local unions farther West had already struck again, without waiting for orders from headquarters. This lack of discipline in their rank and file did not justify the national officers in hastily "calling" the men all out again either to cover their own lack of control over

those who had already gone out, or to punish all the employers for the breach that was charged up only to the foremen of some of them.

These provocations, given by each to the other, are too pitifully small to account for, much more to justify the assumption of the responsibility for the grave consequences involved in renewing and prolonging the inhuman struggle. But there is no room for doubt as to which of the two is now least desirous of ending the struggle by renewing negotiations for settlement or arbitration. The packers refuse to enter into any agreement with the union.

### Private Versus Public Cost of a Strike.

Such occasions as are referred to above in accounting for a struggle like the packing trades strike dwindle into painful insignificance when compared with the burden of cost and peril they entail upon the body politic. Of course both contestants are parts of that body, and an injury to either is sure sooner or later to be the concern of all. Chicago, for instance, cannot fail to feel very vitally the embarrassment of so large a part of its employing capital as is in the command of its chief industry, the packing trade.

But not only their great section of the town, but the city as a whole, is equally sensitive to the loss inflicted upon both, by the impoverishment, much more displacement, of so large a proportion of the entire, permanent working population as is numbered in the packing and allied trades. What suffering is entailed upon these 22,000 breadwinners and those dependent upon their earnings, is only hinted at even by Miss McDowell's graphic description, on another page, of the state of siege in

which her neighbors and the entire Packingtown district surrounding the University Settlement, is placed by the threat of permanently reducing their standard of living on the one hand and the temporary cutting off of their entire livelihood on the other hand.

But the local merchants and property owners have raised the alarm over the final peril facing them and the entire city from the strike-breakers, with whom the permanent laboring population is being replaced. Not only have train loads of unemployed negroes been hurried from the Southern States into the stockyards, but the slums of Chicago and other cities within reach have been drained into the yards. While no one expects such casual laborers to be either efficient or stable enough to answer more than the very temporary purpose of breaking the strike, many are inquiring, what if they should replace the displaced workers, as tenants, customers, neighbors and citizens? What will be the fate of either the outgoing or incoming people? Or, if discharged at the close of the strike, as they are likely to be, what will become of them? Can they return to their distant homes? If stranded, should county, city, neighborhood, or private charity bear the burden of their imported pauperism, crime or demoralization? If they should prove to be permanent and then be unionized, their importers would be the first to charge up their vices or violence to the unions at the very next strike, while now without any sense of responsibility for adding them to the already too large shiftless, if not dangerous population of the city.

Yet the cities have no such immigration quarantine, as the nation maintains at our ports of entry. Sooner or later, though, their citizens will wake up to

take their part, as the third and greatest party to every such industrial issue. And some way will be found of bringing public opinion to bear upon both contestants for the settlement of these differences before the entire community is faced with perils and burdened with loss incomparably greater than either side had at stake, or both together could have suffered by compromise.

### **To Be Hot in New York After Sept. 1.**

It is not fair to assume before his trial that Philip Weinseimer will be convicted as the "New Sam Parks" of the New York labor unions. If he is as guilty as that man was, District Attorney Jerome may be trusted to prove it and punish him for it. Mr. Jerome may also be expected to keep his promise to some building contractors. "Wait until the first of September and I'll make it hot for you people. You are no better than the employees." September first is the date on which the law comes into effect making it a criminal offense to bribe a representative of labor unions. In the April number of *THE COMMONS* Mr. Jerome explained the need of this law, which was passed by the legislature in the closing hour and signed by Governor Odell. Hot for bribery on both sides, is what the country expects its prosecutors to make the law. Let's hold up the thermometer!

### **Get to the Bottom in Colorado.**

The Colorado situation is now demonstrating the difficulty of getting at its bottom facts in order to fix the blame for it all. It proves the need both for the suspension of popular judgment and a thorough investigation, with a fearlessly authoritative report, by the Department of Commerce and Labor. To

learn even the little that we know, the "war correspondents" upon this field of action needed to come to it from far enough away not to be suspected of being in either camp. And yet when thoroughly independent men did try to find the facts and base an unbiased judgment upon them, they seemed to be so far from a first-hand knowledge of fact and so near those from whom they received reports at second hand, that they could not agree with each other. The directly contradictory conclusions gleaned from a variety of this war correspondence for another column, leave the reader no nearer the truth and perhaps even more perplexed than when at the mercy of the fragmentary press dispatches. When Ray Stannard Baker attributes the whole situation to the failure of the legislature to obey the law of the people's mandate which required the passage of an Eight-hour enactment, and Walter Wellman insists that the defeat of the Eight-hour legislation had nothing to do with the labor troubles, what is the man 2,000 miles away to think, except that he must await the patient disclosure of all the facts? Who can yet place the responsibility for this greatest failure of American law, civilization and religion to adjust an industrial difference, when one man who judged fairly of the Anthracite Coal struggle, holds the Western Federation of Miners solely responsible for all the wrongs that were done, and another equally experienced and competent witness declares that not a single charge, much more crime, has been proved against the union? So far forth the Scotch verdict must be accepted, and the nation, stirred to righteous indignation by the greatest outrage to its citizenship and free institutions, must await, with

what patience it can command, the grounds for its just judgment, which must be rendered all too long after the fact.

### **Full Trades Unionism Safer than Sectional Organization.**

One conclusion may, however, be safely drawn as to the trades union aspect of the Colorado situation. The danger to itself and to the community which the history of the Western Federation of Miners emphasizes, lies in the fact that it was not fully organized or run on regular trades union principles. It violated them by substituting the authority of the executive board for the referendum vote of all members of the local unions in declaring a general strike. It was a sectional organization with no national body to steady it, and no affiliation with the federated labor of the country to broaden its fellowship and sense of responsibility. Had they depended upon the ratification or support of the American Federation of Labor, the Colorado miners would never have been lined up as they were in that fateful struggle. Had they kept in their own hands the power to vote on calling their own strikes, they would never have voted as their executive board did.

The point that Colorado has sharpened so that it ought to stick forever in the memory of organized labor and the whole people is this—partial trades unionism is a dangerous thing; the tremendous power and responsibility of organized labor can only be safely assumed by nationally organized and affiliated trades unionism.

### **The International Peace Conference.**

The preparations being made in Boston and the Eastern States for this note-

worthy occasion in October, should awaken a strong desire in Chicago and other western cities to share some of the great things to be said there by the distinguished representatives from England, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Norway, Austria and other European States.

The Inter Parliamentary peace movement will be strongly represented. A conference which brings across the Atlantic such men as Sir John Macdonnell, Professor of International Law, University College, London, and member of The Hague Tribunal, Dr. Percival, the Bishop of Hereford and many other scholars and publicists of England; M. Jules Siegfried of the French Chamber of Deputies and President of the Musée Social, and Charles Wagner of Paris, author of "The Simple Life"; Senator La Fontaine of Belgium; John Lund of the Norwegian Parliament; Dr. Richter of Germany; Signor Moneta of Italy and equally well-known representatives of these and other countries, may well command the attention of America. Some of the speakers on the programme of the Congress may be available for peace meetings at other great centers both before and after the Boston occasion. A meeting is being arranged for at New York and it is hoped that Chicago may offer such an audience that Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who is managing the preparations for the Congress may be constrained to send us the best of the strong men at his command. Delegates worthily representative of our civic, social, industrial and religious life and fellowship should be sent from all our western centers. Correspondence with reference to the Congress or attendance upon it may be addressed to Mr. Edwin D. Mead, 20 Beacon street, Boston, Mass.



# On the Anvil of Human Pain

By Emma Playter Seabury

Strike, strike for the right,  
If life or if death must pay,  
With a hand that's gloved or a hand of might,  
It is ever the world old way.  
We must strike at the hearts of men,  
For the glint of God in the strain,  
And hammer truth over and over again  
On the anvil of human pain.

The stately and beautiful mast  
Was wrenched with a mighty stroke,  
And the friend that rode on the tempest's blast  
Ruined the heart of the giant oak.  
Men delve in a noisome hole  
Where danger and terrors swarm,  
And pick in dark, dank night for the coal  
That is keeping our winters warm.

The diamond gleams in the mine,  
But an eye that is skilled must find,  
And the midnight tapers must burn  
For a thought from a glowing mind.  
In a pang the pearl was born,  
And mysterious life must be  
A travail of suffering that is torn  
From the soul of Infinity.

Strike, strike for the right,  
No battle for good, no prize  
Has been fought in darkness, or won in light,  
But was steeped in sacrifice.  
Men cry "O Lord how long  
Must the spirits of right and good  
Be pitted a phalanx against the wrong,  
In the struggle for brotherhood?"

Strike, strike for the right,  
Whatever there is to pay,  
With a hand that's gloved, or a hand of might,  
It is ever the world old way.  
We must strike at the hearts of men  
For the glint of God in the strain  
And hammer truth over and over again  
On the anvil of human pain.

# At the Heart of the Packingtown Strike

## The Unions' Contributions Necessary to a Higher Standard of Living

By Mary E. McDowell

Head Resident of the University of Chicago Settlement

When on July 12 at half past eleven the "knockers" on the "killing beds" of the six great packing houses in the Union Stock Yards ceased stunning the cattle, and twenty-two thousand work-

"Do you think we will have another 'camp of soldiers at Whiskey Point?'" The old citizens told of the shooting at the corner of Ashland Avenue and 47th Street, and then began to prophesy



Michael Donnelly Addressing the Cattle Butchers.

ers stopped work, there was a hush of suspense in the stock yards district, for the strikes of '86 and '94 were too vividly remembered.

The wives who had suffered recalled the riots, the bloodshed and the burning of cars on the tracks that encompass Packingtown. They asked me,

what might be expected if the strike of 1904 was not settled at once. "In '94," one store-keeper said, "any group of walking delegates could give an order to walk out." To the surprise of every one the "walk-out" of 1904 was as orderly as the every-day leaving of work.

The orders issued by the Union, that every place must be left as clean as on Saturday night; that no material must be left to spoil; that the stock-handlers must feed and water stock until all were cared for so that the animals would not suffer, were obeyed to the letter. The women, who were always the hysterical ones in the past, who had during the last strike marched behind a red flag throughout the yards, came out as quietly as did the men. The superintendent of one of the largest plants said, "It is a remarkable experience for the stock yards. We have never had such a strike before."

The outsiders will ask, why this difference between the strikes of the past and this of 1904? In answer to this question I have been urged to give some of my observations of the changes in Packingtown.

At the close of the summer of '94, I came to live in Packingtown near the corner of Ashland Avenue and 47th Street, two blocks from Whiskey Point and three from the great packing houses.

The strike of '94 had left the community more hopeless than bitter, more conservative than radical, without courage or self-confidence. At my invitation to discuss social questions, they would invariably answer, "We dare not, we would lose our jobs." This superstition had taken such hold of them, that they seemed to us unmanly, and without self-respect. A few carpenters held a secret meeting which resulted in the discharge of the leaders.

Hearing of an organization of butchers, I invited the president to preside at a meeting where Miss Addams would speak, and then discovered that the organization was secret and the officers were quite disturbed at my discovery of them.

Packingtown as I then knew it, had many features of the frontier town, its vices as well as its possibilities. It was separated from the other side of town by forty-two railroad tracks, and one square mile of stock yards. On the north was the backwater of the Chicago River, where the carbonic acid gas

is so continuously breaking through the thick scum of impurities that the people have named it "Bubbly Creek." The streets were unpaved, the houses had no sewer connections, and the ditches were covered with a germ-breeding scum.

The political fate of the community was carried in the "vest pocket" of an alderman who gave jobs to the few, and neglected the many.

Parks, libraries, bathing facilities, all were far from Packingtown.

The city garbage dump was on the west (the receptacle for the garbage from the Lake Shore wards), in the vicinity of which the death rate for children during the summer months was five times as great as that of the Lake Shore.

The block of little homes facing the dump was ruined and deserted by their owners, because of the bad effect on their children.

The houses in Packingtown were not so old, but were cheaply and poorly constructed, while not the typical city tenement they were over-crowded. The sanitary conditions were worse than in the more congested part of the city. When the inspector from the Health Department was called to examine tenements owned by men with political pulls, he would laughingly belittle the condition by saying, "What does it matter, one smell more in this region?"

The vacant land near the "yards" was used as "hair fields," where the hair putrified in the process of drying, adding one more sickening odor to the already heavily laden atmosphere.

The capacity for schooling the children was inadequate. The primary grades held half-day sessions. Kindergartens and manual training were unknown. A humorous Irishman said one day, "Sure we ought to have kindergartens, for they are the high school for the poor man's children."

The children were put to work at 11 and 12 years, often working at night, sharing the irregular hours of their parents.

An affidavit as to the age of a child could be had from an unscrupulous notary for 25 cents, and needy as well

as greedy parents supplemented their insufficient incomes by working as many of their children as they could get into the yards. This was before the Child Labor law was passed in Illinois.

The little foreigners had an irregular school life, for they were taken from the third or fourth grade to be placed in the parochial school to prepare for first communion. After a year of religious instruction they went to work.

This irregular school and working life produced a class of vagrant boy gangs that lived on the streets, were tried in a police court before a vulgar audience, bailed out for a dollar, or sent to the Bridewell to be shut up with the older criminals coming back to Packing-town heroes of broader and more thrilling experiences than their fellows.

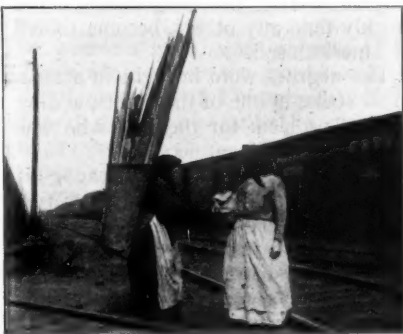
These conditions produced a class of rowdies that were ready for an opportunity for lawlessness—the same class that in some districts of the stock yards are at present the cause of the disturbance and disorder.

There was then, as now, a large body of surplus labor, from 3,000 to 5,000, waiting every morning at the stock yards for a job, and only giving up hope for the day when the policemen would drive them out. The foreign women, who still wore the shawl over the

worker said to me, "It is the club held above our heads at all times."

The irregularity of the work in the packing houses, and the large number of casual laborers always at hand, can only be compared to the conditions of the London dockers.

The belief seemed fixed in those days



Slav Women at the Yards.

that cattle could not be kept over night, and therefore the cattle butchers must keep on the "killing floor," as long as there were cattle to kill that would have to be fed, even if the day lengthened into sixteen hours.

The next day's work might be one or two hours long, but the men must report for work every morning.

Ten years ago the Slavs were beginning to come in large numbers. They were willing to work for less wages and could live on less because their standard of living was low. They would pack twelve in three rooms, the mattresses being piled away in the daytime, unless the night workers took the day workers' beds.

This foreign element might be roughly classified as those who are here only for a time; who return to the old country without having caught the spirit of the new, and that class who desire to learn English, who put the children to work and take in boarders that they may buy a home on monthly payments. This latter class joins a labor union, while the former buys passage back to the old country by the half-



Behind the Yards.

head, were helping to swell the ranks of the "casual laborers."

This element, which is perhaps useful to the packing business, is a menace to the community, and as one skilled

hundred every week during the summer.

It is the un-American foreigner who swells the mass of surplus labor, who can live on wages of 15 cents an hour, working on an average of three days a week, and who forms one of the dangerous elements in times of strike. It is only fair to say that of all the transplanted Slavs, the Bohemians more quickly than any others, become rooted in American soil.

The negroes were brought in after a small strike in one of the plants, adding another problem for the man who was to unify the different peoples.

The coming, four years ago, of Michael Donnelly into the stock yards, made us conscious of a renaissance, that, owing to many forces not in evidence until he organized the workers, made them as well as ourselves conscious of their social value.

Mr. Donnelly has himself told me of the obstacles he had to overcome in the beginning. He secured his first dozen cattle butchers by house-to-house visiting.—“The wives who had suffered most in '94 often showed me the door,” he said, but at last fifty men met on the prairie back of the yards, no two knowing that the others were to be there. Then was organized the Cattle Butchers Union, the first of the 27 locals, which form the Packing Trades Council.

Union meetings were no longer held in secret as of old. Men had the courage of their convictions, they had the dignity of men with an ideal higher than their work and were no longer afraid to frankly discuss social questions. They became a power envied by the politicians, and of great use to the social worker.

The Union not only gave to the people a free chance for social expression, but it established a fellowship of workers, it broke up a feud between blacks and whites, it broke down the barrier of prejudice between the different nationalities.

After a meeting of cattle butchers, where an Irish union girl and myself were guests, we witnessed an initiation of members. A colored man presented

for initiation the group composed of four nationalities, needing interpreters in the Polish, Bohemian and Lithuanian languages.

“Sure, we are all brothers and-sisters now, it used to be different,” said the Irish girl to me, as we discussed the significance of the meeting.

One of the idealists, who believed in the “labor movement,” who had been an inspiration to the girls in the labeling rooms, and whose great desire was to see an organization of the women workers, died a victim of piece work and, just before she died, was made happy by seeing the first “woman’s union” of the packing trades grow, from the twelve members she had brought together, to over twelve hundred.

These women have overcome prejudices, and have learned self-control and self-government in the few years of their association. It was a dramatic moment when the Irish girl guarding the door announced, “A colored sister asks admission to our union, what shall I do?” The president, another Irish young woman (whose father five years before had left his place at Swift’s because a colored man was put to work with him), answered without reference to Robert’s Rules, “Admit her, of course, and let all of ye’s give her a hearty welcome.” As the fine looking, but frightened colored girl walked down the aisle, she was greeted by girls with shawls over their heads, as well as by those who wore the latest mode of head covering.

The Packing Trades Council was a strong factor in the child labor agitation that resulted in the present law, and today no child under sixteen works in the stock yards, because of the eight hour clause the working men insisted on inserting in the law, and more children are kept at school until they are fourteen.

The resolution passed two months ago condemning violence during strikes, has been made valid by the orders issued at the beginning of the present strike.

The Council also has a committee to



work for a County Emergency Hospital in the stock yards district, where the two hundred or more casualties a day may be cared for without the risk of a journey of seven miles to the County Hospital.

In '94, when Mr. P. D. Armour asked his men what they were striking for, they said, "We do not know." While in 1904, the strike order was not issued until a referendum vote was taken by every one of the 27 locals represented in the packing trades federation. Then, after the Packing Trades Council met and ratified the referendum vote, the international officers named the day and hour for the "walk-out."

The moral power of organization has been felt since the first. Every local has held a meeting each day. They have heard reports from conferences between their representatives and the packers, they have listened to calm and sane speeches. "Let this be a strike you can be proud of," said one leader. "Obey the laws, for every time we break one it reacts upon us, and no one is so much hurt as ourselves."

Michael Donnelly's order to "molest no person or property, and abide strictly by all the laws of our land" was printed on small white cards and placed in the hands of the members. The same order was printed in different languages and posted in public places.

The men were ordered to stay away from the saloons, "rushing the can" was prohibited, but fishing and excursions were advised. Recently there has been less drinking "back of the yards" than is usual in warm weather.

The points where the rowdy elements, that are below the level of the union membership, have caused disturbances are found to be where the community has not the forces working for law and order. The eagerness by the newspapers for feature stories and the magnifying of every-day occurrences—for instance, the description of a billboard as a stockade—has given a false impression to the public.

The corner at Ashland Avenue where the union has its headquarters, and where a crowd of strikers are neces-

sarily waiting all day long, the same corner where blood was shed in 1894, is now a peaceful corner. The community back of the yards has felt the combined force of the union, the settlement, the church and the socialist party, whose speakers have spoken strongly against violence and urged that all laws be obeyed. They all have pleaded for peace and condemned rowdyism and disorder.

The woman's local was organized, and has always met at the gymnasium of the University of Chicago Settlement, and during the strike its daily meetings have been in this large, attractive place. Here the young men have come also to meet their friends, to dance and listen to impromptu programs. Every day the women have been addressed by the men leaders and officers and members from the Women's Trades Union League.

University students have assisted in the entertainment, flowers have decorated the presiding officer's desk and an atmosphere of refinement has surrounded the girls and their young men friends.

The captain of police, who remembered the procession of girls in '94 who followed the red flag carried by a true hearted but hot-headed young Irish girl, said to one of our friends, "The girls of the yards are behaving with a dignity that I did not believe possible, they have generally been the hard element to control, and it is all owing to their organization, and the place in which they meet."

They are a distinct influence for order and sobriety. The union men have spoken to them, begging them to use their influence to keep the idle from drinking.

The old citizen, remembering 1894, says, "Yes, this is a remarkable strike, but can they keep this up?" Twenty thousand people out of work, a whole community throbbing with a common purpose, showing self-control and self-restraint, believing that they must have sufficient wages, regular hours and an organization that allows them to bargain for their own labor. The unions

have raised the laborer's average income from \$6.00 to \$7.40 a week; from 15 cents to 17½ cents an hour. The cattle butcher no longer works irregular hours; he has gained a ten hour day. Woman's work averages \$1.50 and not 75 cents a day, as it formerly did.

This the community feels must be maintained if it is to keep the standard of living it has gained in the last two years. And for this maintenance the 40 cent man—the skilled worker, who has “no kick coming”—went on a strike. One of these men said to me this week, “We have raised wages 20 per cent but manliness 50 per cent;” and now it is important that people should know that in this struggle Michael Donnelly represents quite as valuable interests as does the packers.”

So much has been done by the businesslike negotiations between the employers and the representatives of the

organizations that it seems a great pity that this last difference could not have been settled by a manly, businesslike contest. For when war is declared peace ethics cease to be the standard of judgment, and we find ourselves confusing the fundamentals of the struggle with the accidentals that are easily seen by the superficial observer.

The whole community says with a weary mother, “We can't even live decently on 18 cents an hour working but three days a week, and then, there's the sickness, and the deaths.”

Eighteen cents an hour, ten hours a day, four days a week, seven in a family—this is the economic problem that Packingtown is trying to solve, and the question that is stirring them at present is, what can bring a peace that will leave the community with a standard of living higher, not lower; with a self-respect strengthened, not weakened?

## The Community's Interest in the Stock Yards Strike

### The Inside View of an Outsider

Early in May the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America submitted a scale of wages to their employers, the packers. No increase of wages was asked for skilled men. The original scale as submitted called for a minimum of 20 cents an hour for common labor. In conference, however, the union representatives receded from this and fixed upon 18½ cents as a minimum. Heretofore the wages of common labor had not been provided for in the agreements. The agreement of 1903 with the beef butchers ends with the statement that “all knife men” are to get 20 cents an hour. Practically one half of all the employes in the various centers received less than 18½ cents an hour.

The public has been regaled with the high wages paid cattle butchers in the yards, until many people believe that 50

cents an hour was the prevailing rate of wages for all. A cattle gang is composed of 180 men, and 2,250 bullocks per day is the number they must kill and dress. Of these there are but 24 men getting 50 cents an hour: two occupations only, that of floorsmen (or breast-skinners), and the splitters, getting this rate. The next high rate is that of back-skinners, 45 cents an hour, and there are but five of these in a killing gang. To be brief then, one half, or 15,000 men in the Chicago yards were receiving less than 18½ cents an hour for their labor, and getting an average of forty-two hours work per week; weekly earnings ranging from \$6.30 to \$7.85 the year around. The union, therefore, feeling that none were getting too much, and the common laborers not enough, asked that the agreement of 1904 should cover all, and

that the maximum paid to some laborers without agreement should become the minimum and extend to all by agreement. In reply the packers through their superintendent in conference proposed to reduce all labor to 16 cents. As stated above these conferences began in May. Twice a strike was ordered and the order recalled because of renewed negotiations.

The proposed reduction to 16 cents was referred to all members of the

Official notice of this strike, which the packers knew all along would happen, was sent them, and at 7 o'clock P. M. July 11 the packers sent the union a proposal to arbitrate. It is a long time from May 1 to 7 o'clock at night July 11; and it is not very long from 7 P. M. July 11 to noon July 12. The offer to arbitrate was intended for the public, not for the unions.

Students of the new science—"the psychology of the workingman"—know



Michael Donnelly.

unions and the referendum vote was almost unanimous for rejecting it. July 6 the packers took the matter out of the hands of their superintendents and agreed to meet the union officials themselves. Immediately Mr. Donnelly telegraphed to all points to hold strike order in abeyance as he was to meet the owners of the properties, the packers themselves. These negotiations were also broken off, and the strike order again made effective for noon July 12.

that to call the strike off for the third time would create the impression among the men that the union officials were being played with or worse, and disrupt the union; while to the public it could be played as a genuine offer of arbitration. That it was never intended as genuine is indicated by the preparation the packers had been making for a strike for weeks before.

The strike began July 12 against all the packers in the combine, at all points

where their plants are located. That is, the members of the Butcher Workmens' Union employed by Nelson Morris & Co., Armour & Co., Swift & Co., the National Packing Co., Schwarzschild & Sulzberger, Cudahy Packing Co. and Libby, McNeil & Libby, came out in Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois, Omaha, St. Joseph, Kansas City, St. Paul, Fort Worth, Texas, and New York City. The number affected by this first strike was approximately 50,000 men. The packers immediately began to fill their places, using the negroes principally for this purpose, as they did in 1894. This went on for eight days when a conference was secured and the agreement of July 20 drawn up and signed. Few unions could survive such an agreement even had it been conscientiously carried out. July 21 the union officials asked that the men be taken back in relays, only such number going to the yards each day as could be taken on that day. The packers replied that all should return on the 22nd; and the union officials so ordered. The same day the packers published the letter signed by Mr. Tilden, putting their construction on the agreement.

Bad enough for the union at best, the agreement under this construction would disrupt any organization. On its face the letter was addressed to the public; to one who has heard professional students of "the psychology of working men" talk before, it seems addressed directly to those strikers who were to find themselves discriminated against the next day. Whether it was intended to do so or not, the publication of this letter simply exasperated the men. The men returned to work July 22, all being taken back at three plants; and the most flagrant discrimination occurring, it is alleged, at the others. Telegraphic reports of flagrant discrimination came to union headquarters from other packing centers; and here the men simply refused to return in the face of the conditions.

Within a few hours the second strike was called. At this time the allied trades in the yards came out, that is,

the teamsters, carpenters, coopers, car workers, etc., trades which have their own unions and were not involved in the first strike. A complete sympathetic strike at once occurred, and matters were worse than at first. At New York City the men all returned and were not again called out until August 9.

The position of the packers is that common labor must not be included in union agreements. This seems to be an attitude of many large employing corporations, that while they will meet with unions of skilled trades, and fix a minimum rate of pay for such, there must be no minimum for common labor, no limit to reduction of wages for those already getting the least. As soon as the union determined to include and make a demand for fair wages to unskilled labor the employers seem to have determined upon the destruction of the union. Every move seems to have been adroitly made for that purpose. A bevy of the best trained lawyers, men whose standard of intellectual greatness spells cunning, cute, trickiness and deception, were pitted against honest, earnest men who were foolish enough to think that the social righteousness of their cause would have some weight.

After the second walk-out of July 22 efforts to fill the plants with bums, and negroes, and tramps were renewed. The strike-breakers were housed in the plants, and prize-fights under police protection inaugurated to amuse the "new employes" in the evening. "Craps" and other gambling games, and every manner of vice runs riot if half that is said by those who have been through the plants at night be true. A police captain admits that the place is "a hell." The places of the common laborers have been largely refilled but not with a class of labor that can be permanently used. About five-sevenths of the normal number of unskilled male labor, and one-half the normal female labor has been secured. In Chicago nearly 18,000 negroes, imported from everywhere, have been employed. To a certain extent labor, especially female labor, has been brought here under false pretense. Numerous affidavits to

this effect have been secured by the University Settlement. The law of the State which prevented working people from being imposed upon in this way having been declared unconstitutional, there is now no way to prevent this imposture. To secure money under false pretenses is a penal offense, the constitutionality of the law making it so having never been doubted; to secure labor under false pretense is cunning, shrewd business and to interfere with it by legislation is to attack an inalienable right of capital. What wonder that Mr. Donnelly fears that one of the results of the strike will be an increase of socialism?

We come now to the public interests involved in the strike. The social degradation which must inevitably result from bringing in such numbers of such people as comprise the strike-breakers would be terrific in any neighborhood. But for a community burdened before with more than its share of the work of assimilating large numbers of the most impoverished and illiterate immigrants, Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks and Hungarians, to be suddenly burdened with a population equal to its own including its immigrants, of criminals from city slums, and the densest districts of the southern black-belts is to simply break down all the machinery for social uplift in the district. That rental and property values must go and the business prosperity of the section be destroyed was clearly understood by the business men who at a mass meeting held August 17 unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, The Beef Trust has brought into the midst of our community some 7,000 men and women of whom at least 5,000 are now being lodged in the packing houses; and

"Whereas, These men and women are Greeks and negroes, most of whom are brought from the vilest slums of the leading American cities, while hundreds are of the most ignorant immigrants brought here direct from Ellis Island; and

"Whereas, These men and women

are a menace to the city of Chicago, for to any reasonable man it is plain that such people cannot be permanently retained by the Trust, and hence must be all poured out upon the city at the beginning of the winter season. They are a menace as future paupers.

"Resolved, That as citizens of Chicago who have at heart not only the present safety of this neighborhood, but also the future well being of our city, we hereby protest to the Mayor of Chicago and demand that prompt and efficient measures be taken to destroy this outrage."

Strangely enough the daily papers, so eager for news of the strike that they cease to be over particular about the truth, could not find space for more than the merest reference to the business men's meeting.

The curse of the district no doubt is drink, and the system of paying wages by checks is one of the great sources of the drinking habit. Nearly every saloon has a sign "Pay Checks Cashed Here." Of course at least one drink must be taken in order to get the check cashed, and as one Lithuanian says in a recent issue of *The Independent*, "It is hard to take one drink." One of the union demands was that "wages be paid in cash and not by checks." Another source of social and industrial demoralization is the system of buying jobs of the police. A foreman will send a messenger to the timekeeper with a requisition for let us say ten men. The order is given to the police who pass along the line of men waiting to be hired and pick out the required number of men. The only way to insure selection is to "see" the policeman and then if after five or six weeks of work a man is discharged it becomes necessary to "see" the police again. One of the demands of the union is that "men shall be hired by the foreman, not the police."

Another demand which the packers say no one could concede and do business is that "Woman labor shall be abolished in the sausage departments." But before there was any great packers' combine, butchers throughout this land killed meat enough for all the peo-



ple, sold it very much cheaper than it is sold today, employed no women in slaughter-houses or sausage departments, debauched no public, imported no negroes, violated no laws or court injunctions, set up no opposition markets next door, and ruined no competitors by selling dressed meat for less than the price on foot until the competitor was conquered, and either promised to quit killing and buy dressed beef of them or was driven out of business. Nothing of all this was done before the days of these great "trust economies" which so cheapen the cost of production that they cannot do business without the cheap labor of women and children in the slaughter-houses. The independent packers can furnish the cities, the small cities and towns can re-establish their own home butchers and we can have more meat and more morals, at less price for meat and less cost for police and pauperism in the stock yard sections of the various cities.

Our meats are likely to cost too much when in addition to any price the combine may see fit to ask per pound we have to see society rot down; and the standard of living in large sections of our great cities reduced to the level of that of the lowest type of Southern negro, Lithuanian peasants and Greek tramps.

Already the packers have secured an injunction against the tardy efforts of the city authorities to enforce the law and abate the immoralities and dangers of the lodging system in the packing

houses; the undisturbed strike-breakers have already fired from trains into unmolested crowds of by-standers and killed and wounded people. If riots and bloodshed cannot be instigated by either incendiary newspapers, or unfair police, urged on by a would-be Bonfield who sees no chance for glory for himself unless he can get up a riot, it will be because the labor union has wonderful control of its men. There have been mistakes. It may be Mr. Donnelly ought to have accepted arbitration at any hour of any night; but admitted that some older union, some more experienced leader would have compelled the men to return under the agreement of July 22 and demanded arbitration of the discriminations and abuses as grievances, is the public therefore to be taxed for a decade of crime and pauperism in Packingtown, and the dives of Cincinnati and St. Louis to be scoured for street-walkers to ship to Chicago in the night to put up canned meats and sausage for all our daughters?

Before this strike the Irish and the Germans were the uplifting influences in the yards district. These lift the Poles and Lithuanians. If the strike fails, and these must go, leaving the criminal and negro population to become the base while the ignorant Lithuanian peasant and imported Greek becomes the only element of uplift, the social problems of the stock yards become at once hopeless.

The abattoirs of France are owned by the municipalities.

## The Public School: Its Neighborhood Use

### A Recreational and Social Center

By Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch

New England is the home not only of our educational methods, but also of our educational ideals. The old colonial man looked upon life primarily as a religious and theological problem, secondarily as an educational problem. It

is true that these ideas were to some extent fused. Life, being a term of probation, is that period when man must learn how to prepare himself to present on the Day of Account a good showing of his time spent, his deeds

done, his gifts developed. Yet, taken in the large, these two aspects of life are sharply divided. Religion is the necessity, education a desirable luxury.

Although the minister of religion held an aristocratic position superior to that of the teacher, his ministrations represented the democratic need of every man for his soul's salvation. Education helped in the understanding of religious problems, and was therefore the handmaid of religion, but by no means her equal. In other words,

based. It implied that learning is of two kinds, religious and profane; one to prepare for the world to come, the other for this world, unimportant, and unavailing at the Day of Reckoning.

With this dualistic psychology as the mental underpinning of the time, it is not hard to see that the school, though dignified, necessarily failed to present the imposing structural ideal that is beginning to dawn upon us. Nor, in fact, had a different conception of the real nature of education prevailed,



A Roof Playground.

neither religion nor education conceived of man as a whole. Education did not mean, as it is beginning to mean with us, the development of all the powers of man, nor did religion mean the co-ordination of those powers with the universe. The educational development therefore became pigeon-holed along certain definite lines. It meant reading, writing, arithmetic, the language, something of science and history. In other words, it was unconsciously a dualistic conception upon which the system of education was

would the actual course of events have been materially altered. For the economic structure of colonial life was so simple that much was then adequately developed within the home that in a more complicated society would be accomplished by other agencies. Even with a unified educational ideal there is no demand in the nature of things for a correspondingly unified educational system. What the ideal is depends upon a variety of psychological factors. What the form in which that ideal shapes itself is, depends upon the eco-

nomic status of society at the time. The completely educated man may indeed be educated without the medium of the school at all. The structural, the institutional, development becomes an economic not a logical necessity.

#### THE OLD METHODS.

The picture of education in our national past from which we are only now beginning to emerge is too vivid to us all to need portrayal. The physical life of the child was developed through work and free play in ample spaces. The varied life of the seasons on the farm, the long walks to school and church, snowballing, coasting, green apple fights, sugaring-off, swimming in the pond, walking up the brook—all these diversions created physical vigor. The intimate knowledge of birds and trees, the solemn moonrise, the hush of the early dawn, the lapping of water on the shore, these were the calls of Nature to the youthful soul deepening its insight and creating a mental content, which in later years meant power and depth. As the boy grew older and work more serious, the variety of training that every day brought to him was indeed manifold. How to plant the garden, get in the hay, build the barn, and in the long winter days, to make chests for the household linen—in fact, to know how to meet every difficulty that arose with efficiency, this is what the discipline of work meant. This method turned out handy men with the adaptability which has made us famous as a nation and which is one of the springs of our economic prosperity. The pleasant hours at singing-school (we say nothing of the walks home afterward), the exciting debate at the academy or lyceum, the church social, the warm winter evenings around the fire at home with nuts and apples and cider, this was the social life where the ideals of American manhood and womanhood were formed. The ethical outcome was a joint product of the religious and home life of the time.

#### THE NEW CONDITIONS.

If we turn from this picture to New York City life and ask ourselves how

far the old methods of education are adequate to deal with new conditions, we find changes so vast that we are bound to recognize that no theory is going to meet those changes adequately. Only experimentation will be able to determine how an education that is worth while can be obtained. Elements of weakness exist in the methods of dealing with the great immigrant population of New York both by the church and by the home. What the churches do to create high ethical standards is something, but I suppose no one will deny that in the complexity of life in New York, where people move from one place to another so frequently, where it is as easy to go to one church as to another, there is little of that feeling of stability which comes about in a village where everyone knows what everybody else is doing, and where practically everybody has some church connection. Public opinion also does not act so powerfully in the matter of church-going in the city as in a village. The churches then have to rely not upon any outer compulsion, but upon their own inherent strength to attract people to them.

As good preachers are rare, the tendency is constantly toward an increase in beauty of service and to what is known as institutional methods. Excellent as much of this is, there is certainly a note of weakness as well. If the great ethical object of beautiful services and of clubs and classes is not kept constantly in view, a sort of moral deterioration takes place. People are given a good time with no particular thought of how a good time is related to the rest of life. With the home the situation is far more important and difficult. The home of the great body of New York's residents is the tenement. To be able to make a home in such surroundings is a wonderful work which many thousands have accomplished by dint of perseverance and courage and ability. Not all, by any means have been able to withstand the disintegrating influences that infest the congested life of New York. If we may say that any one evil lies at the bottom of the diffi-

culties that New York has to meet, we may perhaps say it is *too-manyness*.

"TOO-MANYNESS."

The rooms are so small that most of the members of the family prefer to go out rather than stay in. Where are those pleasant evenings in the home where the man reads, the woman sews, the children play? They have gone, those pleasant evenings, and they are not likely to return. From all over the world New York has gathered in her

first hot rays of the sun. The ordinary order of events is often turned upside-down. Where the industrial life of the man is drawing to its close at forty, the child must be impressed into industrial service.

With the introduction of modern appliances into the household, the woman is freer to spend her time in industry. Co-operation has changed the course of life, and economy as well as common sense dictates the extension of these co-operative features to which we are so



Material for the "Teams."

big household. The habits of the old world soon disappear, native virtues have their bloom rubbed off very quickly, the traditions of the past suffer a rude shock, and in the transition from the old to the new, as is inevitable everywhere, great dramatic and disintegrating changes necessarily take place. The old self-reliance is broken down, and a new kind takes its place. Excitement and variety bring about a versatility which is a kind of self-reliance, but it is a crop raised on a sandy, shallow soil, likely to be burned up by the

slow to adjust our life and our thought. The result of these changes is that the old home has disappeared and the new home has not yet come into being.

#### THE BREAK BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW.

Where does the child get its physical education? Not on the farm, but in the street. Instead of the moonrise and the fragrant walks in the damp eventide by the edge of the wood, the boy goes to the theater for fifteen cents. This money he earns not by any occupation that is in any way educa-

tional, but in running errands or in blacking boots or selling papers. The older sister cannot comfortably see her young man in the crowded tenement, so she meets him at the corner, and very often he is quite unknown to her mother. The friends of the children are not the friends of the parents. In thousands and thousands of cases, grandparents and grandchildren cannot speak the same language. It may be that, taking it all in all, it is better that the break between the old and the new is as violent as it is. To bridge it over is perhaps a fanciful dream, but at least this is clear, that there must be some central and unified plan by which the strangers who come to our shores can learn what is good in American ways and ideals and can become as rapidly as possible part of our great national life. That means not only an educational plan in its academic sense, but it means, broadly speaking, an ethical plan by which a varied population living under highly specialized economic conditions can gain not only the ground lost in the changes that have taken place from village to city life, but can make use of those changes to create positive values which the village could never have understood. For with all the darker aspects of city life, with its homes turned into workshops, with the lack of privacy in the tenement house, with the crowds on the streets, with the inadequate accommodations for play, with the lack of opportunity to develop initiative, still there is an opportunity to develop manhood which perhaps country regions can never know. But to accomplish this means the development of a conscious purpose for that end, and not until it is the firm conviction of the majority of the citizens of New York that that is precisely what is the purpose of our educational system can we expect the best results.

#### THE FIRST START.

If the church and the home prove inadequate to supply that physical, social and ethical training which the village church and home afford, to what then shall we look? Private endeavor has

made a good start. The great and increasing interest in settlements, that is, in the idea of attacking problems first-hand, of living the life of the neighborhood in order to meet its needs, of sharing the opportunities which have come to some with those who have never had them, of acting upon discoveries made, both in the way of neighborhood service and in the way of getting larger changes effected, is worthy of notice. The settlement psychology has permeated institutional efforts of all sorts, and an inductive method of dealing with city problems as a whole is very promising. But however important centers for neighborhood improvement, conducted under private enterprise, may be, the settlements themselves are the very first to recognize their own limitations in adequately meeting the social and ethical needs of the communities in which they are situated. The settlement is primarily a group of interested persons, only secondarily and perforce of necessity an institution. It is therefore entirely the opinion of those at present engaged in neighborhood work that many of the activities at present carried on by them should be taken over eventually by the city.

#### THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATION.

One discovery the settlements have certainly made in common with the experience of others—that for the creation of proper ethical standards the development of a high sort of social intercourse is essential. We are in the main governed by public opinion, but public opinion is a big term; it is the father of a big family of a lot of little public opinions. As a member of a church I am judged in one way, as a member of a political club I am judged in another, as a member of a trades union in another, and in all these different organizations there are different standards of morality and behavior to which I find myself, whether I will or not, gradually conforming. Tell me about the organization in which you find yourself, and I will tell you what your ethics are. In other words, society and ethics are bound together by a marriage tie that



cannot be divorced. Your problem then for the creation of ethical standards of a high order is a problem of organization. As we have seen in the simpler economic life of the village, this group relationship may be the informal one of the home, or the loose ties of voluntary association. But how in New York are we to accomplish what we have indicated without a consciously developed centralized system of organization? We cannot. One instrument we have at hand which is adapted to this purpose admirably. It is our educational system. The opportunity is there, the power is there, the buildings are there, and whatever may be the present defects, in the carrying out of the social work of the public schools, the idea has taken root and the public interest already aroused will certainly see that the idea is not abandoned.

The social features of the public school system with which we are more immediately concerned are classified by the Board of Education under the head of vacation schools and playgrounds.

#### EVENING SCHOOLS.

But before we give our attention to the history and present status of these features, let us glance at what the board has been doing in other ways apart from the round of daily instruction. It was in 1849 that the evening schools were first opened. From a small beginning the work of the evening school was developed till this last year there was an average attendance (only 40 per cent of the registered attendance) of over 24,000. The total cost to the city for evening schoolwork was approximately half a million (\$477,240.71), making a per capita cost of \$19.16. Special attention has been given to the teaching of English. In 1849, when the evening schools were started, there was no such instruction, nor do we find any mention of the teaching of English until 1879, when there were 1,376 pupils. This number increased, till 1899 we find in the greater city 13,880 enrolled, and in 1903, 26,245 enrolled, with an average attendance of pupils learning English of 8,888; that is, one-third of the total average attendance.

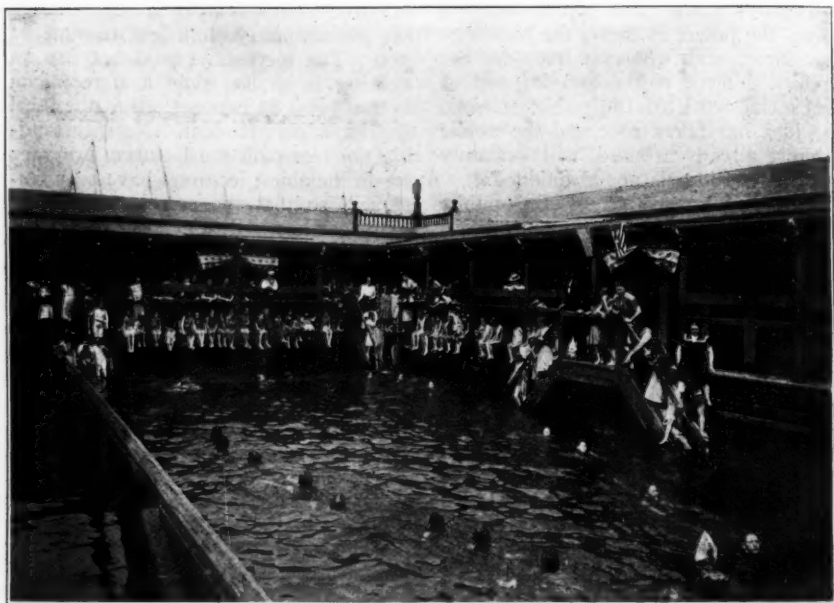
#### FREE LECTURES.

It was in 1899 that the free lectures were established. During the first season 186 lectures were given at six public schools with an attendance of 22,149. The first year that Dr. Leipziger, the present supervisor, took hold of this work, the attendance increased 50,000, and last year there were a million and a quarter auditors (1,204,126) in all the boroughs of the city, at a cost of about \$60,000 to the city; the average attendance at each lecture was about 250. One hundred and seventeen lecture centers are maintained with a lecture staff of 500. The lecturer is paid but \$10 an evening, with \$3 when a stereopticon is used, and \$3 honorarium to the local district superintendent. Notwithstanding the fees paid the lecturers are very small, the ablest lecturers have been employed, so that the system which Dr. Leipziger has built up can be truthfully called the best university extension system in this country. Special legislation was necessary to accomplish this result. In 1888 the legislature provided for the system and in 1891 the legislature authorized the Board of Education to hire halls where the school accommodations were not already adequate.

The subjects covered by the lectures are varied in range. "Physiology and Hygiene," "First Aid to the Injured," "Home Nursing and Care of Children," "The Prevention of Consumption," "Volcanoes," "Earthquakes," "A Lump of Coal and Its History," "Travels in a Swamp," "How to Know the Common Trees," "The Wonders of a Beehive," "The New York Aquarium," "Incandescent Electric Lighting," "Wireless Telegraphy," "X-Rays," "Age of the Automobile," "Liquefaction of Gases," "Compressed Air," "The Life-Saving Service," "The Making of a Newspaper," "The Planet Mars, Is It Inhabited?" "Life and Labors of the Earl of Shaftsbury," "Trusts, Why They Came, What They Do," "Child Labor in the South," "The Street Cleaning Department," "Lectures on Shakespeare and Great Writers of the Nineteenth Century; Seven Courses of Lectures on American History; Lectures on Music

and Art; these are samples of what this lecture course has undertaken to do. Nor are the lectures uncorrelated. They are now arranged in courses for which there is a growing demand, and there is getting to be a steady attendance of the same people who really want to get a thorough acquaintance with the course as a whole. In connection with the lectures bibliographies are given out and arrangements are made with adjacent stations of the public library by which special conveniences can be of-

also held in Italian and Yiddish on Sundays, and at two schools Sunday lectures on musical and ethical subjects were maintained. During the year another Sunday experiment was tried apart from the free lecture system, by the Public Education Association, which obtained permission under the supervisory control of the Board of Education to hold concerts in one of the school buildings. The opening of the schools on Sunday has created, as is natural, much discussion, but that



A "Playground" in the River.

ferred those who wish to read up between lectures.

This last year also saw the inauguration of lectures given in Yiddish and in Italian as well as in French. These lectures were, naturally, especially for recently arrived immigrants, and stress was laid upon the rights of a citizen, and the duties of foreigners in their new country. Illustrated lectures were given on the countries from which the auditors had so recently come. Lectures in Italian were held at three schools, and in Yiddish at three schools. Lectures were

such opening is inevitable is the generally received opinion.

#### BATHS.

Other new features carried on by the board are the introduction of baths in the public schools in 1901. There are, however, at present only two school buildings in Greater New York where baths have been installed. The very active use of these baths would certainly indicate the usefulness of their introduction into practically all the schools. One school reported 1,125 baths in one afternoon. There are no

laundry bills in connection with these baths, as a paper towel is used; an economical and sanitary method. Swimming baths are also maintained at five piers. They are classed as vacation playgrounds, but it may be interesting to notice them separately. The cost for swimming teachers in the greater city of New York last year was \$3,754; for supplies, \$49.95; making a total cost of \$3,803.95. One thousand six hundred and fifty-two boys and girls really learned how to swim in the fifteen swimming pools.

under their competent treatment the children have been returned to their class work much earlier than hitherto. The salaries of the nurses are paid by the Department of Health, the supplies by the Board of Education. The health and morale of the children have been further looked after by the formation of the Public School Athletic League during the past year. This association is a private body, but the moving spirit and secretary of the league is Dr. Gulick, director of physical training in the Department of Education.



Nursing the Sick at School.

In 1892 libraries were established in the schools in connection with the state, the expense to the city being from \$42,000 to \$46,000 per year.

The Department of Health has co-operated with the Department of Education by establishing nurses in the public schools who have greatly brought up the daily attendance by caring for children who have hitherto been excluded principally for eye infection. The nurses have treated pupils both at school and in the homes, and

The object of the league, as expressed in its articles of incorporation, is "to promote useful athletics and gymnastics among the attendants in the public schools of the city of New York, and in connection therewith to co-operate and support school athletic associations, provide athletic grounds and teachers, organize games, offer prizes and conduct competitions." The league recognizes as athletic members all public school boys, members of elementary and high schools, and the College of the City

of New York, to take part in athletic competitions that are given under the sanction of the league. Contestants must be amateurs; entrance fees are 25 cents for each event.

Athletics is the great medium for getting boys to feel and think and act together. The establishment of matches, outdoor and indoor meets, and the healthy rivalry which results from these contests, cannot but prove of great importance. The idea has already spread very extensively and is likely to prove a natural development which will need no fostering from above.

#### VACATION SCHOOLS.

Vacation schools were established by the Board of Education in 1899. Previous to that time, however, for four years vacation schools were maintained by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which borrowed two schools on the lower East Side from the Board of Education to carry on the experimental work.

These schools lay emphasis upon other features than those of the day school. We find kindergartens, nature study, clay modeling, charcoal drawing, water-coloring, sewing, wood work, iron work, and story-telling, the principal features of these schools. They serve a double purpose, both caring for the children in the summer and giving them a fresh mental interest, and also indicating where these features can be most satisfactorily introduced into the day schools system. In 1903 fifty-four school buildings failed to meet the demand for these popular vacation schools. The average attendance was 18,927, the total cost to the city \$122,121.30, the per capita cost being \$6.45. It was in 1898 that the vacation playgrounds were opened. They have grown till last summer the attendance was 68,598, the total cost \$106,830.32, the per capita cost being \$1.56.

#### RECREATION CENTERS.

The opening of the recreation center was, perhaps, a more radical departure than the vacation features. On petition of the Public Education Association the Board of Education allowed the as-

sociation the use of two school buildings in 1898, for the establishment of evening boys' and girls' clubs. The following year the city took over this work and has maintained an increasing number of recreation centers till in 1903 twenty-one centers are open with an attendance of 6,154 at a total cost to the city of \$56,834, or a per capita cost of \$9.24.

To sum up. The total annual cost of the public school system in New York is about \$26,000,000. The per capita cost, exclusive of the "vacation schools and playgrounds" (including recreation centers), is about \$41. The per capita cost of these additional features is about \$3, the total cost being \$285,785.60. The establishment of these new features was not undertaken without considerable opposition, and serious doubt was expressed as to whether the Board of Education had the legal right to extend its operations so widely. This matter was, however, definitely settled in 1898 by an act of the legislature amending the charter and giving the Board of Education control of school property for purposes of "public education, recreation and other public uses." This is a liberal statement, and it leaves the Board of Education free to interpret its functions as broadly as it may find it useful to do so.

#### GENERAL VIEW.

Exhibitions of the vacation school work have shown a delightful quality of freedom and creative spirit which quite differentiates this work from the mechanical quality too often observed in the day schools. The reactive effect upon academic training in general has been strikingly noticeable. Variety and freedom have been the keynote of the vacation school. Vacation playgrounds have also been on the whole successful. The term "playground" generally means the basement of a public school building, where gymnastic apparatus has been installed in a large number of the schools. Quiet games are provided, basketry and clay-modeling have also been introduced, tournaments were held where amateur athletes contested for the city cham-

pionship, clubs were formed, children's magazines and papers were distributed as well as books for the library. Where outdoor lots were utilized by the Board of Education, athletics naturally developed more rapidly; swings and sand-boxes were in use and kindergartens also maintained, roof gardens open from half past seven till ten in the evening, the other playgrounds from one to six p. m. Music was furnished on the roof playgrounds. Playgrounds were also maintained on the recreation piers by the Board of Education. It is interesting to note that simultaneously with the development of playgrounds under the Board of Education a similar movement has gone on in connection with the park department. The number therefore of vacation playgrounds maintained by the Board of Education by no means indicates the total number of playgrounds for children in New York City. For the first time in the history of New York City, the park department in 1903 maintained in the public parks, public playgrounds for the children of the city.

Both the vacation schools and the vacation playgrounds are necessities in our crowded quarters. They are fundamentally similar, both laying stress on freedom in work and freedom in play, nevertheless being purposeful in character. In the vacation school the end sought is good quality in the individual's work; in the vacation playground the end desired is the development of fairness of spirit in group play, as well as the inculcation of a healthful spirit of competition. The vacation schools and playgrounds are especially necessary for children between twelve and fourteen, for under our present child labor law, children are not allowed to go to work during vacation till they reach the age of fourteen (that is, there are no special vacation work certificates, as heretofore), and there is practically no provision by the fresh air agencies for giving boys a holiday who are over twelve. The Children's Aid Society is an exception. It is the clear duty of the city to provide children of that age, who are not allowed to go to work and not

able to go to the country, with rational work and play in the vacation schools and playgrounds.

The recreation centers are in operation nine months of the year. These centers occupy the basement and one or two rooms on the first floor. Some are for boys and some for girls. Both sections do not attend the same school. The sessions begin at 7:30 and close at 10 in the evening. Children under 14 are supposed to be excluded, although this is not always the case. Gymnastics and athletic sports, quiet games, literary and social clubs, distribution of literary books, and study rooms form the principal features of the recreation centers. There are twenty-three such centers at present, fourteen for men and boys, and nine for women and girls.

The larger per capita cost of the recreation centers would indicate either that there is extravagance in their management, or that the experiment has not yet been worked out satisfactorily. The salaries paid are relatively speaking high, the principal or person in charge getting \$4 per night. On an average of twenty-five nights per month, this gives the principal a salary of \$100 per month. Teachers are paid \$2.50; assistant teachers \$1.50; librarians \$2.00, and pianists \$2.00. These salaries are somewhat higher in proportion than those received by regular teachers in the day schools. We face the dilemma that either the recreation centers are really schools, in which case the salaries, the number of pupils to a teacher, should correspond to the day schools, or are neighborhood centers where social work similar to that carried on in the settlement is maintained, and where expert and highly paid work would be suitable. In that case the qualifications for the workers, who should not be thought of as teachers at all, should be quite different from those necessary for the day school teachers. But neighborhood work involves a knowledge of neighborhood as a whole—of the families from which the club members come, and the conditions of life in general under which these young people work and live. As a matter of fact, the clubs



of the recreation centers are by no means as yet free from an academic day-school flavor.

PROBLEM FOR THE BOARD.

The Board of Education has a big piece of work ahead of it in making of these recreation centers real centers for neighborhood work. It is difficult to get good leaders for such work, it is difficult to arrange in the school buildings, as they are at present constructed, for attractive club rooms; but these are diffi-

should be built for this purpose, but also the educational system ought to have incorporated within it this idea of neighborhood work. If once these recreation centers become in truth social centers and not schools, not only will the centers themselves be of untold value, but also the reaction upon the whole system of education ought to prove effective. The centers have been criticised, not only by their enemies but also by their friends, and yet very little has been suggested by those who ought



Nature Study Class.

culties which can be surmounted in time, and they should be met inside of the educational system rather than outside of it. A bill was introduced in the last session of the legislature providing for municipal club houses for boys to be entirely outside the jurisdiction of the Board of Education. There was much truth in the implied criticism of the board. Schools are not club houses and teachers are not necessarily club leaders. Nevertheless not only economy dictates that the public school buildings should be used rather than new buildings

to be most deeply acquainted with neighborhood work of a constructive kind. I would venture to suggest that an advisory committee be formed to act in conjunction with the committee on special schools, which is the committee in charge of all this new form of education work, this advisory committee to be composed not of teachers but of those intimately conversant with neighborhood work. This committee should have no official position whatever, and of course would be unsalaried, but it should make a monthly

report to the committee on special schools of the committee's inspection, criticism and constructive plans.

#### SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE.

With all these new features adopted by the public school system, it is clear that we have only begun to appreciate what the school of the future will be. If education means the development of all the powers of man, and if democracy means, in order to be triumphantly successful, that every person shall have access to such an education, we must provide in a more liberal way for this development than we have in the past. If the parents of the children have to go to work at 7, the school building should be open at 7 to receive into its playground those who have no place to go till school begins. The health of the child is first to be considered. The sterilized milk stations provided by Mr. Strauss at four of the vacation playgrounds last year proved very useful. Penny milk stations in almost all the public schools would be most useful. The growing feeling of parents that the school is their school as well as the children's, and that they are welcome there for instruction, for amusement and for social pleasure, is to be encouraged.

A very interesting experiment will be inaugurated in October of the coming year, when a school teachers' settlement under the direction of a district superintendent on the lower East Side, Miss Julia Richman, will be opened. The settlement itself will be the home of the workers, and a center for all the teachers in the district who wish to thresh out the problems of neighborhood life which form the background of their academic work. The institutional activities of the settlement, that is, the club and class work, will be carried on in the neighboring public schools entirely. The underlying thought of this plan is the creation of a social spirit among the school teachers themselves, and the emphasis upon the idea of the school as a neighborhood center.

In conclusion, we may say that there is a certain sense in which the work of religion, of the home and of the school is one. The development of persons is

that task. We have seen the elements of weakness in both the religious and home life of a big city and how doubly necessary it is therefore to emphasize this enlarged conception of education. The work of the New York schools is not so much to create students as to make men, and this thought of developing the whole child and seeing him in his relation to his family and his neighborhood and his industrial environment makes of the school a bigger and a more important thing than it has ever been in the past. If the social life of the home be too restricted by the physical necessities of the case, then the home should make of the school its nursery, its playground, its library; if the moral ideals and civic responsibilities that religion might well inculcate are often neglected by the churches, the school should be called in to aid. If the clubs and classes of settlements be truly useful, how much vaster the possibility of club and class work in the schools which reach every quarter of our city. What an entertaining job the architect of a modern school building has before him! He has to have in mind the gymnasium, the lecture hall, social club rooms, rooms for manual training and for play.

And if the architect of the building has an occupation so interesting, how much more fascinating is the development of the educational system itself. For this task is needed the highest ability and the deepest devotion.

*Greenwich House, New York City.*

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A finely illustrated special number of *Charities*, for August, is devoted to "Ocean Beaches, and the Social Significance of the Park Movement." The recent very rapid development and improvement of the ocean beaches in the vicinity of New York and Boston through municipal endeavor is described in detail and the pictures show results and their contrast with earlier conditions most vividly. Other articles follow on park and playground extension in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago, while Clinton Rogers Woodruff writes on the objects and work of the American Civic Association which has recently been formed through the merging of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the American League for Civic Improvement.

# Boston's Tenement House Conditions

By Anne Withington

The report of the commission appointed by Mayor Collins, last year, to investigate tenement-house conditions in Boston, has just made its appearance in print. The commission wastes no space on the point that things in Boston are not as bad as they are in New York, but sapiently intimates that in its opinion the best is none too good and we are yet far from our goal.

Nor does the commission take up the obviously closely related question of rapid and cheap transit which will, when all is said, solve the tenement house problem by abolishing the *raison d'être* of the tenement house. The publication is not so much a report of conditions as a draft of proposed legislation prepared after many deliberations, visits to New York and New Jersey, careful investigation of the data of the health department and examination of the multitudinous laws governing the construction of buildings in Boston.

Ever since the great fire of 1872 building laws have been passed from time to time of such stringency that today the construction of modern tenements within the fire limits for low rental is practically at a standstill. Added to this state of things is the further difficulty of forcing owners of old one-family residences to alter these in conformity with the laws, as they are technically dwelling houses and not tenements. In the proposed act, the commission codifies the many regulations and restrictions passed within the last thirty years and modifies some of the requirements in order to make it possible to convert these older buildings into modern tenements. For instance, the use of incombustible materials under the present law is prescribed for all four-story apartment houses "through-out," but the commission suggests that if the halls and stairways be constructed of these incombustible materials, the rooms all properly lighted and venti-

lated and the open space about the house be sufficient to the demands, there will be no increase of danger from fire.

There are many suggestions in the report which must appeal to all who are familiar with the deplorable surroundings in which so many of our fellow beings spend their lives. One of these is the requirement that access to any room in any four-room apartment shall be had without passing through any bedroom, thus insuring some degree of privacy to the occupants. Another is the prohibition of basement dwellings of a too familiar kind, in reality cellars, sunless, damp, contracted.

Another suggestion which will meet the approval of every settlement worker in Boston is that the city gradually take possession of the many private alleys. These have long been a source of trouble to owner and city official alike. Most of them are in wretched condition, uncared for by public or private effort. As a preliminary step the commission recommends that these alleys be cleaned in the same manner as the public streets and at the expense of the city.

It is not proposed to establish a separate tenement house department to meet the present situation, but the recommendation is made that the force of inspectors for tenement houses be provided by the board of health and that some of them be women. Of the notable efficiency of women in New York, for instance, in this capacity mention is made.

It is illustrative of the cumbersome and wasteful way in which we arrive at the point of action that the Massachusetts legislature now threatens to make another investigation of tenement house conditions in Boston, thus duplicating the work done by Boston itself and postponing legislative action indefinitely.

# The Present Status of Woman in the Profession of Teaching

By Mrs. Andrew Macleish

Turning to the report of the United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. W. T. Harris, we find that the total number of women employed in the state school systems of the United States was, in 1902, 317,204; that of men, 122,392. In 1870, 59 per cent. of the teachers in the public school systems of the United States were women; in 1880, 57.2 per cent; in 1890, 65.5 per cent; in 1900, 70.1 per cent; in 1902, 72.2 per cent. In the cities the proportion is even more startling. In Chicago, for instance, only 6 per cent of the teachers are men. This was the situation in 1890. In general, men hold the executive positions; women do the direct teaching.

Considering the United States territorially, we find that the percentage of women teachers is largest in the north Atlantic states and smallest in the South, while the percentage in the West lies between these two. In 1902 the percentage of women teaching in the public schools of the north Atlantic section was 83.3 per cent; in the south Atlantic states, 61 per cent; in the south central states, 52.2 per cent; in the north central states, 74.4 per cent; in the West, 77.8 per cent.

This condition bids fair to continue in the immediate future, if one may judge from the proportions of men and women in preparation for teaching. In the report from normal schools for 1902 we find the total number of normal students in the public normal schools of the country is 49,403, of whom 12,209 are men and 37,194 women; again 75 per cent are women. In the private normal schools the ratio changes somewhat; 48 per cent are men and 52 per cent women. In the colored normal schools the same fact holds, 57 per cent being women.

Passing to a consideration of salaries, the report for 1902 shows that throughout the United States the average monthly salaries for men are \$49.05, those for women \$39.77. Looking at

this question territorially: In the north Atlantic section men receive \$59.01, women \$40.17; in the south Atlantic section, men \$30.50, women \$28.60; in the south central division, men \$44.28, women \$36.88; in the north central division, men \$50.85, women \$39.60; in the western division, men \$65.90, women \$53.70.

In the consideration of this question of salaries, the difference in the character of the positions must be kept in mind. In general men occupy the executive positions, women the class-room positions, so that this last tabulation is not simply a comparison between the salaries of men and women teachers, *per se*, but largely a comparison between executive and teaching positions.

Passing now to the status of women with respect to the direction of public education, we find that women may vote for school officers and are eligible for the same to a greater or less extent in all the states and territories except the south Atlantic states, from Delaware to Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and New Mexico. As a rule women are eligible to school boards in all northern and western cities. In 1900-1901 the state superintendents of Colorado and Idaho were women. The report of that year also shows that in twelve cities, running from Southington, Conn., to San Bernardino, Cal., the city superintendents were women, while 22 states returned a certain number of women among their county superintendents.

It is, of course, in elementary education that women have so largely usurped the field. As we rise toward the higher education the percentage of women teachers drops very rapidly. In the public high schools of the United States the women teachers in 1899-1900 numbered 50 per cent; in the private high schools the proportion was 57.74 per cent. In the colleges for women the rate of women teachers was 71.3 per cent. In the colleges for men and for

both sexes there were in the preparatory departments 29.67 per cent of women teachers; in the colleges themselves only 10.44 per cent of women.

An effort has been made to study the question of woman's relation to the higher education. The following questions were prepared and sent out to presidents of co-educational and of women's colleges, and to others who are broadly interested in educational problems and have had opportunities to form conclusions:

1. Why, in your judgment, do not women fill a larger number of higher educational positions, in coeducational colleges, for instance? What has been your experience with women in such positions?

2. Do women in the higher positions receive salaries more nearly equal to those of men?

3. Are the salaries of the higher educational positions sufficiently large to induce men to exclude women from them?

The answers to the first question were the most varied and the most interesting. The reasons given were as follows:

Chancellor Andrews of Nebraska University says: "Much prejudice still exists against women for these positions. At the same time it must be admitted that comparatively few women have as good qualifications for such positions as can easily be commanded by men. My impressions of women's efficiency are most favorable."

Prof. Earl Barnes: "In my judgment, women do not fill higher educational positions because they are not fitted for them. During all the centuries that lie behind us the resources of civilization have been used to train men and not women. If we had not produced a difference then education would be futile. I have seen two or three cases where college presidents have tried hard to introduce women into their faculties. One is surprised to see how narrow the range of choice is when you seek a woman for a university post. Women who have the training and talent are more apt to be tied up by maternal or other obligations

so as not to be available for university positions."

President Eliot says: "They are not so available as men."

President Hall, Clark University, says: "Women do not fill more of these positions because they lack special training. Woman is constitutionally less prone to this than men. She is more humanistic and is more liable to do violence to her nature by focusing upon one single topic, as professors must. For instance, she excels in general knowledge of literature, but very rarely takes to minute philology. She loves to study general biology, but the numbers of memoirs and theses that attempt original contributions in this, as in every other topic, are few. Another reason is that young men, and, I am inclined to think, young women, of college grade are less impressed by women than by men teachers, even if intellectual equipment is the same. Young men unquestionably have a strong feeling, whether rightly or wrongly, that it is less manly to be apprenticed to a woman than to a man professor, and even young women of this grade have something of the same feeling."

Dr. Harper says: "Women do not fill a larger number of the higher educational positions in part because they have not made the preparation; in part because such positions involve the supervision of men, and as a rule men refuse to have their work supervised by women; in part because there is always an element of uncertainty about a woman's future."

President Thwing says: "The reason is primarily that many women prefer to be heads of homes rather than heads of departments in colleges."

President King of Oberlin: "The situation, I suppose, is partly due to the fact that until quite recently a much smaller number of women have prepared themselves by extended graduate study. Another reason, I suppose, has been that in co-educational colleges it has been often felt that for the sake of attracting men, who are only too likely in the long run to be outnumbered by the women students, it is desirable to



keep the majority of the teaching force men. The situation, also, I suppose, is partly simply the continuance of an early situation, necessary at the start, but not so necessary now."

President Jordan, Leland Stanford University: "Assuming equality of ability and training, men are more satisfactory in the higher work. They can do outside things better, they bear criticism better, they take more objective views of things, measuring progress by actual achievement rather than by subjective feeling. They handle classes better and are more patient, less likely to be lonely and emotional. To all this there are individual exceptions, but in all higher work, especially in teaching men, men are preferable as teachers, other things being equal."

President Taylor of Vassar hesitates to express an opinion regarding women on the faculties of coeducational colleges, but says: "In our own institution we have both men and women in our faculty, and the women have been able to do their work with power and growth equal to that shown by the men. Of course, I speak of classes, not of specific individuals."

President Seelye of Smith: "Women are filling, every year, higher educational positions and occupy in women's colleges as high positions as men do. One reason why they are not engaged as much as men in co-educational colleges is that the traditions of the colleges are against them, and marriage makes their position much more uncertain. Where women remain unmarried and are well trained for the position their instruction is as satisfactory as men's."

President Thomas of Bryn Mawr: "Women do not at present fill more positions in co-educational colleges and universities because there is a very decided, though not always openly acknowledged, opposition on the part of men teaching in college faculties to the appointment of women professors, and also because the boards of trustees of co-educational colleges are composed almost wholly of men who naturally are not particularly interested in

employing women. Women in such positions succeed exceedingly well. There is every reason to believe that women have the same gift in teaching higher subjects in colleges that they have shown in more elementary subjects in schools."

Among other interesting suggestions are these: That the deep-rooted objection of young men to being taught by women is due in part to the fact that women have so much less of practical experience with life than men, at some points much less than the men whom they are to teach; that as men in a faculty have a wider market, they possess a greater advertising value to a college than women; that as women must exert a social as well as an educational influence, the standard of personal and social qualifications is higher than for men."

As to the question of salaries, there is nearly a consensus of opinion that in the higher positions there is practically no difference between the salaries of men and women; the position carries the salary. Also the replies agree that competition does not enter to any large extent into the filling of these places. Individuals are selected upon their merits. The salaries must be high enough to hold the individuals best qualified for the work. These at the present time are usually men. One reply suggests that the ablest women frequently marry these ablest educators. President Eliot's is the one dissenting voice. He says: "No. In the interest of women equal compensation with men's should never be advocated except for piece-work." President Thomas reports a curious situation. "It is a fixed policy of Bryn Mawr College, and of many other colleges, to pay the same salary to college instructors holding similar positions. In point of fact, at Bryn Mawr it is easier for us to appoint for a low salary men than women, because there are so many more men than women fitted to hold any given post that men are willing to come for a materially lower salary than women of the same grade of academic preparation."

Coming to the question, "Why are

not men more largely represented in elementary and secondary schools?" The responses agree upon two points: First, the salaries of these positions are so small that men with families to support cannot live upon them. Women who have only themselves to support can and do accept these positions with the salaries. The result is that better equipped teachers for elementary and secondary positions can be had from among women than from among men. As Earl Barnes puts it, "There are so few men in elementary and secondary education because we have a great number of well-educated women on this plane who have few avenues of activity. A six-hundred-dollar post will command a six-hundred-dollar man and a two-thousand-dollar woman." The second reason given is that women are by nature better fitted to sympathize with and understand young children; they can enter more truly into the child's life. As one reply puts it, "the maternal element is more important than the paternal in the earlier years." There is, however, a very widely expressed regret that there are not more men in the upper grades of the elementary and in the secondary schools. The need of them there is keenly felt.

Our last question was, "How is woman's education affected by industrialism?" The replies indicate quite different points of view as to the question. President Eliot says that woman's education has been improved, given definite aims and prolonged. President Andrews: "The effect is, on the whole, deleterious, although women forced into industry receive from the experience itself a species of education often quite valuable." President Seelve says that industrialism has tended to make woman's education more practical and to train her for specific employment. President Jordan: "With those women who look directly to earning a living, as most ought to, the education is affected by industrial demands. This appears most distinctly in preparation for teaching in college. The demands of journalism and medicine, if all these be included in industrialism, also affect education." President Thomas says: "Women's education has been and will

be in the future very much benefited by women's entrance into the money-making occupations. There can, I think, be no question that the large increase of women studying in colleges and universities is due in part, at least, to the fact that so many women are engaged in high school work where a college degree is a very decided commercial advantage." President Hall says: "I cannot answer the question because I think the answer is so long, and I have just finished writing it down in a book on adolescence about to appear from Appleton's press." Mr. Earl Barnes says: "I think woman's education is being affected by industrialism indirectly. Men are turning so strongly to commercialism that the fields of pure scholarship, except in the higher reaches, are being left almost exclusively to women. Today the women up to the grade of junior university standing are superior to the men all over the country. A foreigner wishing to gain information touching literature, the drama or social activity could get better results from talking with American women than from men. If this were to continue long enough the higher fields would also belong to women, but I anticipate reactions." One able and liberally educated woman, not herself an educator, but in close touch with the work, suggests that "in lower economic grades the period of education is shortened by the desire to get girls to work. In the higher grades, to prepare for teaching, etc., the period is lengthened and technical training is added. In the lower grades more directly practical training would probably keep girls for a longer period in school."

Several other college presidents agree in thinking that education during the college period has not been greatly affected by the demands of industrialism. The fact probably is that the last suggestion cited points the way toward the general truth of the matter. The influence of industrialism is felt more in the grades below the college, and in graduate or university work. The college, whose function it is to provide a liberal, non-specialized education, feels the pressure of preparation for self-

maintenance less than the secondary school or the university. If data upon this point could be collected from the high schools of the country the results would probably be most interesting. When we come to the consideration of the graduate work, which women are doing in our universities, we have to reckon with a factor quite different from those presented by industrialism,

and that is the love of pure scholarship. Probably that is quite as strong an element in the minds of those devoting themselves to scholarly pursuits as the fact that the higher education confers an income-producing power. The difficulty of separating these two motives in the minds of individuals makes it impossible to measure the effect of industrialism upon the higher education.

## Profit in Child Victims to Cocaine

Greed for profits has led to crimes of every description, on the part of both individuals and large corporation interests, but few have been more diabolical than the deliberate and designing plot to enslave young boys in the horrible toils of the cocaine habit. It is almost unbelievable that anyone in his senses could be guilty of such a thing, but it is disclosed that regularly certified pharmacists, who must be fully aware of the ruin and wreck to body and mind alike entailed, have actually made a practise of selling the drug without a label to small boys in the neighborhood of Hull House, Chicago. More than that, the habit has been encouraged by first giving away the stuff until the craving developed, and in the recent cases it was found that money for the purchase of it was gotten not infrequently by theft or the sale of stolen junk.

All honor is due to Miss Julia C. Lathrop and Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House, who inspired a thorough investigation of the matter and themselves procured much of the evidence. One druggist has already been convicted, and another has been brought to trial from whom it is learned that the traffic is not carried on by a few but that its prevalence is alarming. He promises to implicate others in the abominable business.

In this connection it would be well to institute an enquiry as to whether it is a common practise of druggists, in the Hull House neighborhood or any other, to promote the sale of patent medicines which contain large proportions of cocaine or other drugs that may

be used to advantage under the advice and discretion of a good and responsible physician, but that are exceedingly dangerous and insidious when taken in large quantities and with frequency. It is disputed by scarcely anyone conversant with the facts that great harm is done through the sale of such "specifics," which are guaranteed to cure almost everything from pulmonary tuberculosis to encroaching baldness.

The large power of the concerns that make them is used often in ways most unscrupulous. It is next to impossible to find a state legislature that will enact even the most innocent law in defense of the public if it would appreciably injure the sales of one of these "popular remedies." And it is a matter of common notoriety that each season the introduction of such measures is regarded with levity by the grafters who scorn such a time-worn and hackneyed method of making a "strike." A bill was introduced last winter in the New York state legislature to require the publication of the formula of each patented or proprietary medicine on any packages containing it. The motive of the introduction was at once suspected and made the subject of jest. We do not say that the imputation of motive was incorrect. Nor do we judge the wisdom, justice or efficacy of the measure. A condition is indicated, however, that naturally discourages a man who values his reputation, proves a handicap to a disinterested effort toward dealing with the problem, and affords an illuminating side-light upon the methods of legislation in general.

# "Violent" Newspapers and The Strike

By Edwin Balmer

"Who have committed the most violence during the strike? The strikers? The strike breakers?"

"Neither. The newspapers."

"Violence to what?"

"To the truth, of course."

The questions are general; the answers mine, but not entirely original.

I was talking to a policeman on special duty at one of the west gates of the yards.

"Much disorder this morning?"

"Man beat up on Ashland; nigger strike breaker scared to death on Halsted. Shot into a bunch of strikers. Nobody hurt. They say another 'breaker'—or perhaps 'twas a striker—was doused in Bubbly Creek. That's all."

"Expect much more violence?"

The patrolman looked me over a moment before replying and, smiling a little, glanced at his watch. It was about eleven in the morning.

"Sure," he said. "Unless the 'dope' gives out there'll be the h—ll of a riot in about an hour."

"Where?"

"Oh," he replied easily, "in the afternoon papers. It's just the day for a riot."

I was not "easy" enough to ask why, so he went on unencouraged.

"There's no new train wreck, is there? Didn't the morning papers have all about the last fall of Port Arthur? Won't there *have* to be a strike this afternoon?"

I understood, of course, but still I waited to watch the most "dangerous" spots. Four non-union laborers coming out of the yards toward Ashland avenue were met by a single union picket. Two of them stood meekly like tame animals to get a cuffing. They got only slaps, but sound ones I heard fifty feet away. The lone picket took the hats of those two and tossed them toward the yard fence. They ran after the hats and kept right on after picking them up.

The other two made a bolder resist-

ance after their companions fled. But a cross cut on the jaw for one and a stomach blow for the other, a direct-kick as they turned, and the second pair of strike breakers was returned to the yards. Stopping about a hundred feet away, however, as a union official ran up hurriedly they contributed a few punctuation remarks to the "calling down" the picket received from his brother unionist. Perhaps the "calling down" was not sincere. It was, at least, unexpurgated.

## MAKING A STORY.

Besides the principals mentioned, I was the only one near at the time. I don't believe the picket or the petty official told the story. I didn't. The strike breakers, as they returned to the yards, must have given it out. They had to explain why they had to return so suddenly. To save their "face" they probably, as the saying is, "helped the story along." Finally it got to a foreman or one of the agents from whom the reporters get their "stories." He knows the reporter wants a "good" story and gives him one. The reporter knows "the office" wants a better story and 'phones it in. The writer "taking the story" from the telephone knows the public has been trained to expect violence; will be pleasantly and easily entertained by violence and, what is the real point with some papers, most readily will pay their pennies for "bloody riots" and "many lives lost" stories.

Perhaps the editor of the at least saffron one o'clock extra wanted to save his "many lives lost" head for a later edition. I discovered, therefore, from that paper that what I had seen was merely a bloody riot. Homer, I believe, says that Achilles before Troy was worth a score or so of men. Journalism has improved and become more concise since his day. Comparative values are omitted. Solitary picket aforesaid was a score, I had become a large hooting crowd of jeering sympathizers and the

union official also had become quite a rabble.

#### WHAT IS A NEWSPAPER.

What is the institution which we blame?

A newspaper is merely a dealer in news. It buys the special styles, sizes and qualities of news which it thinks it can sell to its patrons. It is business, and as with all other business concerns, the business policy varies with the classes of buyers to which the newspapers, as the department stores, can best appeal. It is business which puts cheap, gaudy and shoddy goods in one department store which has an immense patronage; it is business which puts reliable "all wool and a yard wide fabric" in another department store which may have an equally large number of patrons. It is also business which supplies one newspaper with sensational, unfounded "fake" stories, exaggerations and imaginations displayed in large showy type and it is also business which makes it good policy for another paper to buy wholesale, for retail purposes, calm, moderate, reliable accounts and reports at least preferring the truth,—other things being equal.

#### THE AFTERNOON PHENOMENON.

Most of the violence and by far the most serious disorders "occur" in the afternoon papers. Police "blotters" usually show the greatest number of arrests and the greatest amount of disorders in the very hours for which, besides their reviews of the preceding day, the morning papers are essentially a record. The phenomenon mentioned, therefore, can not be classed as entirely natural. In the little incident of the afternoon paper "story" treated above, I have given part of the explanation of it. In "The Story of a News-story" written by James Keeley, publisher of the Chicago Tribune (the Saturday Evening Post, October 3, 1903,) we can see the rest. In a paragraph sub-headed "The Personal Equation" he says:

#### A CLUE TO IT.

"Let half a dozen men see an accident, or a foot-ball play, or any other

incident in which there is action; let each of these men describe what he saw. I will venture to state that no two will agree on what really happened. And yet each will insist on the correctness of his version. And many times a newspaper story is based on stories told by witnesses of the occurrence. Fiction to the contrary notwithstanding, the reporter is rarely 'on the spot.' He has to depend on what someone else saw and is often the victim of the inaccuracy of a well-intentioned but poor observer."

This statement is confirmed in almost every newspaper story dealing with the strike and accentuated by the obvious condition that the "observers" from whom, as Mr. Keeley says, the reporters get their stories second hand, are biased and prejudiced. The "well-intentioned observers" are well-intentioned to which ever side they happen to be on and distort their statements accordingly. They are average individuals and, as Mr. Keeley says:

"The average individual is naturally an exaggerator. The long bow is his favorite weapon. He likes to tell a little bigger story than the man who told it to him. This gratifies his self-importance."

As a fair instance Mr. Keeley writes:

"There was an accident at a foot-ball game on Marshall Field. The first report which reached The Tribune office said that twenty-five people were killed. These reports came from people who saw the accident. What were the facts? No one was killed on the field, though one boy died three or four days afterwards."

The facts. The Tribune had both the time and inclination to verify before setting up a head line. The afternoon papers, however, which issue hourly editions and extras have not time for such verification, and it is extremely doubtful in some instances whether they have the inclination. The competitive desire for a story, a big story, a bigger story than the next fellow applies to the papers as well as the individuals who do the greatest harm before having or taking time to consider, verify and cool down before talking. And no matter



how careful, how desirous of the truth and nothing but the truth an editor and his staff may be, "in the hurry of getting out in eight hours a 70,000 word picture of what has occurred in twenty-four hours," the publisher of the Chicago Tribune goes on, "it is absurd to imagine that in the 20,000 statements of fact in these 70,000 words there should not be mistake." If this is true of the decidedly non-yellow Tribune with a day between editions and for which most of the local news is written up in the office by the staff correspondents originally gathering it, how is it with the hourly "screamers" run off the presses as soon as a rumor unverified, unexamined but exaggerated and sensational enough can be "taken from the 'phone" and further exaggerated by the writer in the office, who has no direct personal knowledge of conditions?

#### THE "SLANT" OF A STORY.

A new reporter, not yet having learned the ethics, or lack of ethics, of the yellow newspaper story, brings into his newspaper office an account of the things as he saw them. His eyes not yet trained to squint only along the bias of the paper's "policy," saw those things too nearly as they were. The city editor reads the story over and hands it back.

"Change the 'slant,'" he says and the "slant" is changed until the story tells the tale which, in the opinions of the editors, will most readily sell the paper. The truth may be incidentally considered and a little of the personal opinions of the writer may appear; both, however, are prostituted to what the public wants—or more exactly, what it will buy repeatedly. It must be emphasized that the policy, the bias, the partisanship of a newspaper is not determined by that of its editors or publishers but by that of the constituency it reaches or desires to reach. Does the public, then, force the publishers to publish sensational scandal and riot stories partly against their will?

#### A NOTABLE "FAKE" STORY.

Mr. Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* some months ago

told in "World's Work," "Why People Disbelieve the Newspapers." He records the case of the newspaper-notorious "scandal" in the royal family of the Netherlands. Queen Wilhelmina was reported to have been insulted, seriously maltreated, and alternately neglected and beaten by her consort. It was excellent "first page stuff" and worked up and worked over again for "all it was worth." Mr. Bok, having learned from an excellent and reliable source that the newspaper accounts published in this country were absolutely unfounded, went to the editor of a newspaper which had been dealing in the "scandal" and furnished him proof that the scandal stories were false. At the same time the London correspondent of the same newspaper, who had been sending in the scandal stories, wired that the previous dispatches were false and unfounded and that the Wilhelmina matter was "dead." The public, however, expected more of it, wanted more of it, would pay for more of it. Therefore it got more of it. The Wilhelmina matter was "kept alive." The editor knew that what he continued to print was absolutely and entirely false; in fact he wired the unwilling correspondent to send in stories which both knew had no foundation; but the scandal was kept alive until the public tired and would no longer be attracted by the fiction.

The paper, Mr. Bok says, was not a "yellow" one. Obviously not. If it had been the editor would not have gone to the trouble to have his London correspondent continue the reports. The foreign news would have been written up right in the home office. As it was all false, what did it matter where it was written?

During the present stock yards strike, so general has a similar popular demand for exciting "news" become that a similar method of supply responds. The public, as I said, has been expecting violence, they have wanted to read about violence and been willing to pay to read about violence. Hence they got "violence." During the first few weeks of the strike it was amusing to see how one decidedly "yellow" paper continu-

ally and persistently denied, editorially, the existence of serious disorder, while each day, almost each hour, it sold special extras through its "bloody riot" headings and first page stories. Standing by the union cause staunchly, if insincerely, in their editorials, that paper obviously was forced to the publication of the "sluggings" and "riots" by the consideration of what the public wanted, or rather, would pay for.

#### PADDING AND "FAKING."

A newspaper story often—I may say usually—depends for its conception upon something which may have occurred; for the strength or weakness, the exaggeration or underration and for all distortions of statement it is dependent directly upon what the public will be interested in and therefore pay for. This is quite as true of "strike news" as of "war news." All newspapers, I believe, "pad" some stories and "fake" others, directly or indirectly. It is unavoidable. Not always having original sources of information, newspapers copy from others which seem to have. Often the sources of information of the copied story are very original—the mind of the correspondent, for instance. The first paper purposely and wilfully publishes the "fake" story. The public can not tell, at once, that the story is a "fake." If it is well written it shows up like good news. A competing paper, forced to have the news, and more willing to risk an untruth than a "scoop" at the hands of the first paper copies the "fake" story. After the paper once prints a story it "stands for it." Hence what you read in two or three papers maybe as little likely to be true as what appears in but one.

It is notorious that much of our "war" news is "home made." A few lines of bona fide news comes on the cable from the Associated Press or from an original source. It is a most common practice not only to "pad" the bona fide report publication but also "fake up" or fabricate and invent columns and sometimes pages of other "war" news to accompany, confirm and explain the few lines of real news. The story may have been a

"fake" or highly erroneous report at the start; after a few columns of original, home made matter is made up upon the first few lines of foreign rumor or misstatement, the result is startling. But, as the Irishman said, "That's the intintion." It sells the paper.

The man who reads over the few lines of real war dispatches, pads them out, "confirming them from Chefoo and adding the details," has been very busy during the stock yards strike. He writes the special matter for the afternoon extras and so must stay in his newspaper office. There are, however, several reporters at "the yards" carefully drilled to know what is wanted, and to rush it in whether it is there or not.

The police fire a few revolver shots into the air to frighten and disperse a crowd. No one is hurt, no one was even aimed at. A reporter for an afternoon paper rushes to the nearest telephone. He was not upon the spot of the shooting. He heard the shots, however. Perhaps five shots were fired.

"Hello," he calls the office. "Riot. Mob attacks police. Five or ten shots fired."

"How many?"

"Oh, ten or twenty. Big mob down by Ashland and 47th."

"Twenty shots? Ten hurt you say?"

"May be. Will find out."

Having sent in his "bulletin" to the office, reporter number one rushes off to find how many persons will agree that they have been killed, hurt or just escaped being shot in the disturbance. Reporter number two, having heard of the shots from some violent sympathizers with one side or the other, rushes to another phone. He puts the mob at Ashland and 45th and the number of shots at fifty. The writer taking the story from the office telephone knows very well that the two varying reports reaching him probably record the same disturbance. He is "wise," however, and gives the public readiness to pay for a "good" story the benefit of the doubt. He adds the number of shots and the distance over which the disturbance spread. "Twenty shots and fifty shots make seventy. Seventy-five

sounds better and why not an even hundred? If the mob spread from 47th and Ashland to 45th and Ashland, why wouldn't it spread elsewhere? The reader of the newspaper probably finds that it did.

The addition of a few more reporters, not on the spot, but sending into the office the best story they had, would have necessitated a battle and made the whole south side the battle ground.

#### BOTH SIDES SUFFER.

Both sides have suffered from the newspapers.

Carpenters erecting an advertising bill-board are not strikers erecting a stockade. Two hundred boys and young rowdies chasing and pelting a few stray steers do not compose a mob of four thousand starving men trying to stampede a herd and almost eat it off the hoof, as papers have stated. The union is not made up entirely of ruffians and desperadoes who have been able to live well and comfortably for \$7 a week and whose present object is to rob and domineer capital and slug every non-union wearer of overalls.

On the other hand, the packers are not heartless, soulless Frankensteins created and made great by men of labor whom "they now seek to destroy." The strike-breakers, though not all heroes, are not villains and blackguards without right to work for whom and for what they please. "The streams of vice and immoral corruption" which have been reported flowing from the lodgings in the yards, have risen no higher than their sources. The packers gave their "guests" for entertainment just what those "guests" had been accustomed to.

Some of the union officials probably, by more or less childish and vexatious meddlings and through a human desire to assert "authority," had made the packers suffer impairment to the efficiency of their business. The principles upon which the labor leaders have acted have been, for the most part, right; their impulses, unfortunately, less so. The union, as a combination of units to improve and raise the price and standard of labor, should not, therefore,

be destroyed. Why are those working to improve and raise the standard and price of machines and mechanical equipment business men, but those working to improve and raise the standard and price of men and human equipment variously designated as "robbers"?

#### ANTAGONISM NOT PUGILISM.

I believe that the packers as buyers and the union as sellers of labor must have interests antagonistic; but not necessarily pugilistic. There has been violence at the stock yards—it is undeniable, inexcusable. But it is certainly and indubitably far, far less than has been reported in the newspapers. Death has resulted from one disturbance; but, if I am not misinformed, non-union men fired the shots and it was the union which suffered.

I believe that it would have been extremely wise and advisable, whether or not the circumstances seemed then to warrant it, had President Donnelly made every effort to call off or delay the strike until the tardy "bluff" of the packers to arbitrate—if bluff it was—could be "called." I believe that before the second strike was called, President Donnelly owed it to himself and the public, if not to the packers, most fully to investigate the truth, the reasons and the source of the alleged discrimination. I believe that the unions, in common with the packers, have made many mistakes, issued many statements, condoned many conditions and performed acts which may be only partly excused by the exigencies of industrial war. I believe that this issue—other issues, magnified for the moment, being laid aside—is whether the unions can maintain or raise the standard of life and whether the packers can maintain or raise the amount of profit. Both objects are legal and legitimate. The packers argue very plausibly that all that pertains to the packing industry is strictly business: the unions are trying the balance of "competitive wages and the right to live."

#### THE AFTERMATH.

Whatever the outcome, we will have to reap an undesirable aftermath. If

the strike-breakers, many of whom have been gathered from the levees and undesirable sections of various cities, are turned loose suddenly, the increase of Chicago's crime and vice will show it. Already the municipal lodging house has encountered the undesirables who have soon tired of the hard work involved in strike breaking at the yards. If, on the other hand, the union is destroyed and the workers, who must return, must return as non-union men, past experiences shows the formation of a new union to be inevitable. As the Chicago Tribune asks in the course of an extremely able editorial expression:—Is it better to have a new union clandestine, resentful, inexperienced, or an old one, chastened, mature, and increasingly reasonable?

These are the considerations which should underlie the consideration of news.

But, as I have repeated, newspapers

are engaged primarily in the buying and selling of news. It has been said that there must be *some* basis for everything printed. Perhaps there is; for when I see one of the usual accounts of a lively hour at the stock yards I know if the principals named in the account have not been victimized others have. Truth, I am sure, has been slugged, Accuracy knocked out and Veracity thrown into the river.

What paper has not nobly and enthusiastically offered the full strength of its editorial staff to settle the strike? How many newspapers have had, or even endeavored to have had, published unbiased, unexaggerated news—the calm, moderate statement of conditions and issues instead of the exaggerated sensationalism which helps to sell papers but also contributes to the widening of the breach between the two classes which are and must be necessary to each other?

## The Strangers

"For he said: 'I have been a stranger in a strange land.'"—Exodus ii. 22.

All day the human current beats;

Men hurry up and down,

Cross and recross familiar streets

In their familiar town.

A thousand men go on this way

And pass a thousand more,

Yet none will know another day

He saw these men before.

(And over the mountains and over the sea  
A-many and many strange lands there be.)

Men walk; they wait, they sail, and ride

Together everywhere;

They stand unknowing side by side,

Together on they fare;

Each day they meet and pass the same,

Each ignorant of each,

And no man knows another's name

Or hears another's speech.

(Yet over the mountains and seas afar

A-many and many strange lands there are.)

And none of all these understands

He has no need to roam;

That strangest of all stranger lands

Is this that he calls home—

Is this where go a thousand men

And meet a thousand more,

And know not when they meet again

That they have met before.

(But over the seas and the mountains high

A-many and many strange lands there lie.)

—Chicago Tribune.

# Educational Movement for Social Training.

By Graham Taylor.

The schools, arising at the great centers to offer both general courses and technical training in the theory, history and practice of what deserve to be called the arts of social and philanthropic service, mark a very distinct and important educational movement. Their announcements for the next season indicate a very decided advance in the standard, method, and both scientific and practical value of the teaching and training they offer.

The London School of Sociology and Social Economics, in title and scope claims the province that in this country the universities have preoccupied by their departments of Sociology, which are as yet unknown to the curriculum abroad. But as it has enlisted the Charity Organization Society and the Woman's University Settlement workers, works in co-operation with the University of London and the School of Economics, and can count upon the helpful influence of the new "Sociological Society" and the still more recent "Institute of Social Service," its curriculum is sure to combine the practical purpose with the academic spirit and method.

In New York, the successful summer school, conducted by the Charity Organization Society for several seasons, has evolved "The School of Philanthropy," which in its second announcement schedules a very full curriculum for the whole academic year with distinguished instructors and the best clinical advantages. It, too, has the active co-operation of the Columbia University faculty and the Association of Neighborhood Workers, both of which independently offer some courses of instruction.

In Boston the study class of the Charity Organization Society has been the pioneer effort, which is now to be supplemented by Harvard University and Simmons College for women. Under the directorship of Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, himself a Harvard man of

wide experience and expert authority in handling philanthropic work, and Miss Zilpha Smith, one of the most efficient and best-informed charity administrators in Boston, this high-grade "Training School for Social Workers" will from its opening day in October take rank worthy of its academic origin and registration requirements.

The provisional course of instruction offered last winter at Chicago under university extension auspices tested the demand to be such as to warrant the more permanent administration and more thorough curriculum announced officially on the next page. Both are made possible only by the equally generous co-operation of experts most busily engaged in practical administrative work and specialists under the heavy exactions of university professorships.

Recognizing the demand for instruction and training for the betterment of industrial and civic conditions and relationships, as well as for efficiency in philanthropic work, the university groups these courses under the broader title of "Department of Social Science and Arts." While the departments, libraries and statistical laboratory at the University of Chicago are open to its students, the school is located at the center of the city in connection with the downtown University College and within easy reach of the varied clinics and field work afforded by the city charities, settlements, labor-union halls, juvenile court, and the Crerar library, which specializes in economic and administrative literature.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction did well, in view of these and other similar developments, to add a "Standing Committee on Training for Social Workers," which will not only chronicle from year to year the achievement registered by these schools, but will be the clearing house for the interchange of their experience and suggestions and a bond of fellowship and co-operation between them.



# Courses in Social Science and Arts

## Training for Philanthropic and Social Work

University College, University of Chicago

### INSTRUCTORS.

Charles Richmond Henderson, professor of sociology, University of Chicago; Alexander Johnson, secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and associate director of the School of Philanthropy, New York City; Hastings H. Hart, superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society; Julia C. Lathrop, Hull House, and recently of the Illinois State Board of Public Charities; Frederick H. Wines, president of the National Prison Association, and assistant director of the twelfth U. S. census; Ernest P. Bicknell, superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charities; John Cummings, professor of political economy, University of Chicago; Graham Taylor, professor of sociology, Chicago Theological Seminary, resident warden of Chicago Commons and Director of the courses.

### PURPOSE OF THE COURSES.

The courses of study and practical training in social and philanthropic work, offered through this school, by the University of Chicago and the specialists co-operating with it, are aimed to meet and increase the demand for efficient helpers in charitable and reformatory service, both public and private, and in all endeavors to improve industrial and social conditions and relationships. The intention is not only to provide a basis of general knowledge for intelligent interest and participation in whatever promotes the welfare of the community, but also to offer a more technical preparation for professional and volunteer service in specific lines of organized effort.

The demand for trained helpers is being widely increased by the extension of the civil service law of merit appointments to public, charitable and reformatory institutions, and to city and state inspectorships; and by the growing opportunities and exactions of child helping agencies, boys' and girls' clubs, and probation officers of juvenile courts; the management and operation of voluntary philanthropic institutions and associated charities; the organized movements for civic betterment; the welfare work of industrial establishments; social settlement service and the neighborhood extension of the public schools; and the diversified institutional and educational ministries of the churches and their missions.

Training in these directions is made possible not only through the instruction of those who are at the head of several specialized agencies and departments of knowledge, but by the courses of University College, the School of Education and its manual training,

the Department of Sociology and all other advantages offered by the University.

### LABORATORY FOR STATISTICAL RESEARCH WORK.

The University has equipped this laboratory in which students are given training in the collection and tabulation of statistical data, as well as in the scientific construction of charts, diagrams, etc. The object of this work is to familiarize students with practical methods employed in government bureaus, municipal, state and federal, in the United States and in other countries, and in private agencies of sociological and economic investigation. Students are trained to enter the service of such bureaus or agencies of social betterment as statisticians, capable of undertaking any work requiring expert statistical service. The departments of Political Economy and of Sociology co-operate in the direction of statistical investigations.

### LIBRARY FACILITIES.

The John Crerar Library, located near the school, contains the most valuable collection of economic and sociological literature in this country, and is open to the free use of the students. The Chicago Public Library and the Newberry Library are also close at hand and the library privileges of the University are at the disposal of the students.

### FIELD WORK.

Charitable, correctional and social institutions, both public and private in Chicago and vicinity will be open to visitation and study under the supervision of the director, who will hold personal conferences with each student over studies, observation of methods and participation in the practical work of the city. Assignments will be made to friendly visiting under the supervision of the charity bureaus, social settlement service, co-operation with probation officers, personal effort for discharged prisoners, etc.

A limited number of students may apply, through the director, for temporary residence at social settlements in Chicago.

### TO WHOM THE WORK IS OPEN.

The courses of study and training are open to:

- (1) Graduates of high schools, or those giving evidence of equivalent qualifications, who wish to prepare themselves for social, philanthropic and religious work, professionally or as volunteers.
- (2) Those now engaged in the service or management of such public or private institutions and efforts, who seek

to attain higher efficiency and are judged capable of taking the proffered courses.

- (3) Those duly registered as students in colleges, universities, professional schools, theological and lay seminaries, who apply to take one or more courses or attend the open lectures.

#### REQUIREMENTS AND TUITION.

The minimum work leading to a certificate for the satisfactory completion of the year's full curriculum will consist of six courses of twenty-four lecture-studies each. Special students may register for single courses or any group of them, for which credit will be given. Individual assignments to field work are requisite to each course taken. Applicants for certificates will be required to take courses in elementary psychology, political economy and ethics, unless they have previously pursued these studies. These subjects are offered by University College. When the work in these courses meets full University requirements, credit will also be given toward degrees.

Registration for 6 courses of 24 lecture-studies and all open lectures, \$30.00; single courses of 24 lecture-studies, \$5.00; open lecture course by specialists, \$5.00.

#### COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

The first quarter, beginning October 3. Prof. Henderson, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bicknell on Dependency and Charities (Thursday, 7:30 P. M.); Dr. Hart and Mr. Johnson on Care of Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Children (Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.); Professors Taylor and Cummings on History of Industrial Relationships and Present Issues in the Labor Movement

(Tuesday, 7:30 P. M.); open lectures by the best available specialists on their specialties (Monday, 8 P. M.)

Winter quarter, beginning January 1, Miss Lathrop, Mr. Johnson and others on Public Charities (Thursday, 7:30 P. M.); Dr. Wines, Mr. Bicknell and Prof. Henderson on Correctional and Reformatory Measures (Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.); Professors Cummings and Taylor on History of Industrial Relationships and Present Issues in the Labor Movement (Tuesday, 7:30 P. M.); Prof. Henderson on Domestic Institutions; Open Lectures by specialists on economic, social, industrial and administrative subjects (Monday, 7:30 P. M.).

In addition to this special curriculum students are recommended to take the following courses offered by University College as preparatory or supplementary thereto:—Associate Professor Moore: Modern Idealism, and its bearings on scientific, social and religious questions (autumn quarter, Friday, 4:30); Dr. Watson: Introductory Psychology (autumn and winter quarters, Saturday, 8:30); Advance Psychology (winter quarter, Tuesday, Thursday, 4:30); Assistant Professor Gore: educational Psychology (autumn quarter, Saturday, 10:30); this course is given at Blaine Hall, where students can use the large educational library of the School of Education; Assistant Professors Hill and Cummings: Principles of Political Economy, including the discussion of trusts, monopolies, and labor problems (autumn and winter quarters, Monday, Thursday, 7:30).

Schedule of courses and open lectures and all other information will be furnished on application to Professor Graham Taylor, University College Office, 203 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

## College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

### A Philippine Island Social Settlement.

BY MARGARET P. WATERMAN.

EDITOR'S NOTE—Miss Margaret P. Waterman, after wide settlement experience in this country, including residence in the College Settlement, New York City, and Denison House, Boston, has been in charge of the Church Settlement House in Manila for nearly two years.

The prospect of starting a settlement in the Philippine Islands was an exhilarating one, although even this new, far-away life seemed hardly more strange and adventurous than did the first experience of settlement life on the East Side of New York, thirteen years earlier. There was the same delightful sense of going into the unknown, and beginning life again under

new and unfamiliar conditions. Although methods tried and approved in America may not be at once (if ever) applied here, yet there has been a happy repetition of experience, the same appeal and the same response of friendship. A house had just been secured for the settlement, when the two pioneer residents arrived from America, in October, 1902. This, a fine old Spanish house, one of the best in Manila, stands in a thickly-settled *nipa* district. It has proved to be admirably adapted to our needs, and to find such a house in such a neighborhood was most auspicious. The House was formally opened on the 30th of December, 1902.



The Philippine Settlement.

The weeks previous had been spent in furnishing and settling the house, learning the neighborhood, and making friends with the neighbors. As usual in the early days of a settlement, our first friends were the children. We used to speak to them as they passed the gate, or communicated without words, for we did not know their language then nor they ours, and Spanish is not of much use with children.

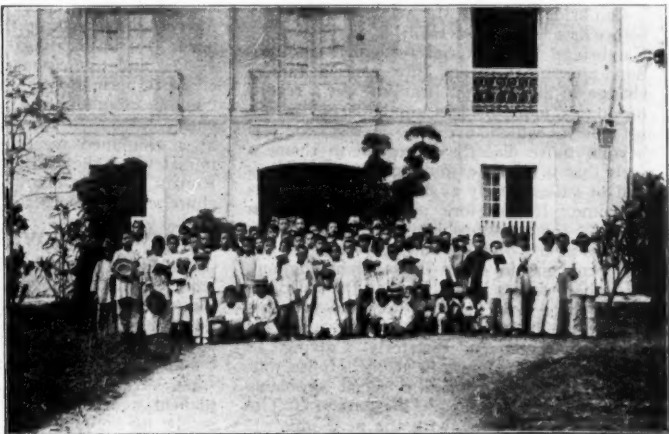
We used to ask them to come in, but they chose their own time for this, and their first response to the invitation was a very polite evening call from a little group of boys and girls and babies, led by a bright little Chinese — Mestizo. They came the next night (with a present of peanuts) and the next, each time bringing friends, and soon the evening visits became a fixed habit. We sang American songs, which are taught in public schools, and played games that required no lan-

guage, and for several weeks were very happy in this way. Then it seemed best to sort and separate the children, giving boys and girls regular and distinct times for coming, and so in course of time four clubs came into being.

Their progress has had various checks. The difficulty of getting outside help is far greater than in the

States, owing to the shifting character of the American population, the distance of the settlement from their homes, and the constant problem of transportation. So the clubs have suffered from changes and want of steady care, as well as from a serious interruption caused by a great fire in Trozo, which destroyed hundreds of homes and scattered our children.

At present we have the "Rizal Club" for boys, the "Santa Rosa" sewing-class for girls, very popular, and having considerable stability and character, and a small writing-class for little girls.



"The Neighborhood."

So far, games and spelling-matches have been the chief occupations for the boys, but we have the prospect of a manual training class in the near future, with an expert teacher and fine equipment.

The children are very docile and sweet-tempered, and play together with very little friction. This is a conspicuous thing, as is also the fact that the girls are far more wild and noisy than the boys.

This cultivation of the children's friendship was about all we could undertake, until the necessary arrangements were completed for opening the Dispensary and Kindergarten.

In January, 1903, the Dispensary was opened, with a staff of twelve visiting physicians, American and native, and one resident nurse. The work has been most satisfactory, and has grown steadily, ministering to the great needs about us.

In July came our resident physician, Dr. Johnson, whose constant attendance is, of course, of the greatest value to the work. Miss Osgood, an experienced kindergartner from Pittsburg, opened the "Kindergarten of the Holy Child," in February, and has brought to these little Orientals all the delight and good that the Kindergarten offers elsewhere. This has been one of the pleasantest and best features of the settlement life.

This is the outline of the first settlement work in the Philippines. It has been necessary to go on slowly, and learn the ways of these people, and let them become accustomed to us, before undertaking much definite work. They cannot, and ought not to be pushed, but they are responsive. The Tagalog language is difficult to acquire, but is absolutely necessary to any real sharing of interests, the manifest pleasure of the people at our attempts to speak their tongue is a great encouragement to effort.

## From Social Settlement Centers

*A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

### Cambridge House, London

Cambridge House Magazine, which heretofore has chronicled monthly the events at Cambridge House social settlement in London, announces in its July issue a radical change in aim and publication. As a record of doings more or less similar from month to month, which are of interest to few beyond those directly concerned in them, it feels that it is rather dull reading for others and of value merely as a reference for years to come. It therefore purposes to contain "articles on our problems, discussed from various points of view and by those who see our problems in other lands than England, in other towns than London." To allow more space for the furtherance of this scheme it will henceforth be issued in larger size and become a quarterly, "giving as usual a record of events at the House, but adding articles upon the social problems which press upon us in these days." The new series will start with the next number, which therefore will not be published until October.

Cambridge House has been strenuously

opposing the Government Licensing Bill which has aroused such spirited disapproval among so many classes and especially those interested in abating the evils of intemperance. Public meetings have been held at the House and the co-operation of many agencies has been brought about. All shades of opinion, religious and political, have united, and condemnatory resolutions were passed at a combined meeting of the clergy and ministers of the Church of England, of the Roman Catholic church, and of all the free churches in the district.

### Forward Movement, Chicago

Fifty-five crippled children from Chicago were gathered together at the Forward Movement summer outing encampment at Saugatuck, Michigan. A vacation school was carried on for them and seven special teachers and attendants accompanied the children, some of whom had to be carried, and remained with them until they were returned safely to their homes again after the outing. The vacation school for crippled children maintained by the Board of Education was not held this summer, but instead the

# Collier's

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## ITS POSITION

“What are you anyway?” cries one more subscriber, who is merely the latest of a multitude. He wants it in black and white—Republican or Democratic.

Many letters wish to know why we are against the President, and as many more wish to know why we are for him. Some complain of our attacking Mr. Bryan, and others complain of our applauding him. We are called alternately plutocrat and demagogue.

It is not enough for us to say that Mr. Roosevelt is a good President, who has made some errors and some compromises; that Mr. Bryan represents some just ideals and some dangerous heresies; that Mr. Cleveland is a powerful figure, who has no great sympathy with the masses; that the Republicans have usually been plutocratic and the Democrats idiotic, and so on through the list of our opinions.

The average man dearly loves a label. Intellectually, he wishes to get somebody's collar on his neck.

It may be a limitation of our temperament, but we have no intention of giving our free thought into the charge of any party, or any faction of any party. We shall treat the President, Judge Parker, the Republicans, the Democrats, the East, the West, the South, exactly as may be called for by developments of the moment.

There is truth on every side, and falsehood, and our function is to expose falsehood and expound truth, wherever it may be, as far as we are able.—*Editorial, July 30, 1904.*



money usually appropriated for it by the Board was given toward the work at Saugatuck. Thirty-five of the pupils were those who would have attended the school in Chicago, and they were joined by twenty more drawn from all parts of the city.

A large central tent, 60x35 feet, was devoted to school and kindergarten uses, and in it was a pile of sand where play could continue no matter how bad the weather. Pets of all descriptions, chickens, rabbits, turtles, and small creatures found by the youngsters, occupied cages and boxes, while in the center of the tent was a little tree surrounded by a wire netting in which no less than twenty canary birds kept each other company to the delight of the tots. Sleeping quarters were had in two large "sanitary houses," made by stretching canvas over a regular frame for a small cottage. The floor was well built and raised well off the ground, while the roof was made double, the top piece of taut canvas being several inches above the inner roof of the same sort. This arrangement was found to induce a good circulation of air between the two roofs, thus obviating much of the heat of an ordinary tent. One of the triumphs of the outing was the rapid improvement, which has now resulted in almost the complete recovery of a little boy so ill with tuberculosis of the joints and lungs, that the physicians declared when he left Chicago he could live only a day or so. After a few days with no treatment whatever except lying in one of these houses, the sides of which were raised (they are constructed with hinges for the purpose), he was able to join the rest of the children in short rambles, and now plays on the beach with nearly as much vigor as the best of them.

The total cost of the entire school and outing, including transportation to and from the city, for which special rates were secured, amounted to less than \$800, and its duration was one month. Plans are already being made for next year, when a larger number will be brought over and the stay will be eight weeks.

### Chicago Commons

It was the first birthday of the father of the family since he entered into life. Those who sorrowed thought of others to whose less privileged lives he delighted to add joy and opportunity. To the scant home equipment and advantages of the family life near his place of business he had helped to add the evening attraction of the public school which had gathered hundreds of its neighbors,—little folk and large—to enjoy and profit by them. Through the settlement near by, an invitation was sent to twenty-five boys to spend his birthday with the family at their suburban home.

No sooner were the invitations "out" than seventy boys clamorously presented themselves in advance acceptance. But only the

twenty-five first selected could go. On their march from the suburban station and arrival at the house under the escort of its head, their decorum took the form of unwonted quiet. But their reception at the gateway "broke the ice" at once before it had a chance to freeze, for there stood the lady of the house waiting to welcome them. The very first thing they were off to the lake for a swim with their suit and towel in hand. Then came dinner on the broad piazza with fun and frolic for hosts and guests as good as the goodies. And it was eaten with the souvenir knife, fork and spoon, which were taken home for a keepsake. The lawn became the arena for potato sack and obstacle races galore. But the prizes faded away from the eager contestants' vision at the appearance of a neighbor's auto with seats for eight at a time. To "be first" or wait your turn tested the youngster's "settlement" spirit and discipline, but none "got left." Enthusiasm reached the boiling-over point when the farm wagon, lined with new-mown hay, drove up. The boys pitched themselves in, without the aid of a pitchfork, but followed by a box of candy, a league baseball and bat, a flag and a tin horn. Such a suburban concession to the city-boys' own ways completed the capture of their hearts. And the whole country-side became aware of the fact as the hay-wagon became a megaphone on wheels and awoke the widest echoes ever heard in the annals of that quiet neighborhood. The triumphal way home and the entry to their own citadel capped the climax of the happy day. From those who might well have "speeded the parting guests" to startled passengers and hurrying street crowds, all along the long way every one heard, if they did not see, the conquering heroes come. For they marched to their own music, tooting in unison and banging their bats in marching rhythm, until with their own "Camp Commons yell" they passed through the settlement's flowering gateway reviewed by the residents and every available neighbor and passerby.

Such an occasion never dies with its day. Its results live on in every one of the lives it touches. Its "free-masonry" interprets to each other those separated by circumstances more than by nature or will. Into every life which shared this birthday passed more of his spirit whose brotherly good-citizenship has left many another sign of civic loyalty upon the city he loved to serve.

### College Settlement, Philadelphia

Growth, as to play space, and neighborhood activity also, attends the Philadelphia College Settlement as the report of its head worker indicates.

In addition to the altering and occupying of 420 Christian street, the small unsanitary dwelling in its rear was torn down,

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making possible, by the aid of a sufficient gift, the play ground, a most satisfactory addition to the Christian street plant. Since the publication of the report, the building at 435 Christian street, which had been given to the Settlement, has been torn down and a new play yard will soon be ready for use at the Front street house, too. Additional space was acquired by the renting of two extra basement rooms used during the winter for club purposes and furnishing opportunity for table games, gymnastics and basket ball. When the Front street house closes, near the first of July, the Country Club at Frankford opens, with its opportunities for the "country week" and out-door work and pleasure.

The Settlement has had in residence during the year two probation officers, who have been "at home" to their young clients one evening in each week. The head worker in concluding her report emphasizes the necessity of development on the side of gymnastics, sports and manual training for these and other boys not actually under probation, making a special appeal for a person who shall lead in these directions, who shall be, as it were, the "social side of the probation officers, bringing to its proper fruitage their work with the children and their parents."

### Hampton, Va.

Fourteen years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Harris Barrett, both Hampton graduates, settled in the town of Hampton in a neighborhood inhabited chiefly by others of their race. Beginning in a simple, small way in their own home, a social settlement work has developed which is effective for the uplift of the neighborhood and retains in high degree the charm of personal service unencumbered with too much institutionalism. An interesting account of it is to be found in the "Southern Workman" for July.

Mrs. Barrett began by asking a few girls to her house for an afternoon a week, and by forming a little sewing class. That these girls might learn good housekeeping by seeing it done, they were often asked to come individually or in small groups to the house, on Monday when the family washing was being done, or Tuesday when Mrs. Barrett herself did the ironing. Sometimes they remained to dinner or to supper and learned how to set the table and how to conduct themselves thereat. No change was made in the daily routine when these girls were present; it was the every-day home life of a refined man and woman which they saw and of which they were in a measure a part.

Through the industry of this "Tuesday Class" in making and selling small articles of clothing an annual picnic known as "Baby Day" has been held. This began by taking twenty-five children with their mothers to a neighboring beach for the afternoon, providing them with a simple lunch and a wonderfully happy time in the bracing sea air. Last year more than 800 children and mothers attended this picnic. The guests now contribute a part of the lunch themselves.

With little loss of the distinctly personal relation, the influence of a home on the other homes about it, the social center has broadened out to include many of the customary settlement activities, especially along the line of industrial classes. A successful woman's club has also been started. So much so has this been a movement of the people themselves that much of the expense of carrying it on has been borne by them. Recently, however, Mrs. Barrett realized that the work was greatly limited by lack of suitable quarters, and money was secured with which a small club house was erected nearby. A committee of Hampton Institute teachers and associates pledges the rent and fuel and Mrs. Barrett raises the rest of the money needed.

## Labor Issues in Current Thought

The editor of *The World Today* looks in vain within the party platforms for the issue that is found in the hearts of men everywhere else. "Shall the conditions of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the United States be set by the representatives of the people, or by the directors of corporations?" is "the issue behind the platforms" as he sees it? Even though he admits that "there is no genuinely political issue before the American people," he does not think we are ready to make this social question the basis for political grouping, and thus the dividing line of a class struggle between socialists and anti-socialists." His conclusion is that "we do not want to vote on it, but we do want it met and settled by the men for whom we vote." To neglect

it, to scorn it, to dodge it, to play the demagogue with it, will mean a new alignment on the political field, and if that alignment is ever made, the United States will face a situation more critical than it has faced since 1860."

However, in the same issue, Ernest Poole asserts the public to be "disappearing" between the alignments of the employing and employed classes now actually face to face with each other. "The strike is becoming the class struggle." But so far, the lines have surely not been drawn hard and fast enough either to align or keep in line anywhere nearly all the people. The public is sufficiently in evidence to claim to be the third and greatest party to most industrial disputes. It will yet find a way to have its

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## ***Announcement***

A change of management has brought a new spirit into **CURRENT LITERATURE**. Dr. Charles B. Spahr, formerly of The Outlook, and well known for his work on economic and social topics, has assumed editorial charge, and under his control many new features have been introduced and a spirit that renders it of great importance to all interested in social problems. A department of Current Discussion has been opened, in which both sides of every important question will be stated fairly and impartially—a feature that will be of especial interest during the coming presidential campaign.

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rights recognized and respected, which will probably prove to be the fairest way of settling the inevitable issues between the parties of the first and second part with the least injustice. Mr. Poole's previous article in the same magazine on "How a Labor Machine Held Up Chicago" proves this young writer to be an original observer.

The North American Review presents two timely and incisive insights into the all too little known ethical and religious attitude of organized labor. Although of course outside of all labor organizations, Miss Jane Addams states "the present crisis in trades union morals" more nearly as the trades unionist feels it than perhaps anyone else can do it, not excepting any union man that we happen to know. In so doing she emphasizes none too strongly the difficulty of judging aright a movement so extraordinarily complicated, so swiftly developing, so vexed by sharp transitions, and so mercilessly misunderstood. She parallels its deplorable mistakes with the equally serious errors of other organizations at similar periods of rapid growth, when raw recruits are hard to manage and yet are in the majority at critical times and places. She points out the tragedy within trades unionism, which no one has yet graphically enough depicted, of the struggle between loyalty to its lofty and unifying brotherhood ideals and fidelity to the business contracts which, with scarcely any experience or training, its craft groups find themselves compelled to make under the economic necessity to bargain collectively. "The fact that the American trades unions are receiving their first lessons in business at a moment of unusual business corruption, also tends to make the present time for them one of unusual crisis." Not only partaking of, but participating in, political as well as commercial corruption so prevalent in all our great cities and in most of our large towns, the human nature organized in the labor unions, cannot reasonably be expected to escape, or justly be censured more than others for sharing the contamination which we are shamed into admitting to be all too common to us all.

In the same review for June, Prof. Thomas C. Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, writes most suggestively of "Socialism as a rival of organized Christianity." After noting some similarities between the social conditions which farthered the spread of organized and dogmatic Christianity in the Roman world, and those which now facilitate the socialist propaganda in the international industrial world, he points out "some of the strange and striking analogies that should make every student of primitive Christianity an earnest student of socialism." The uplifting vision of a world conquering idealism gives socialism an incalculable advantage over trades unionism as an organizing faith. He thinks this is due to the fact that it is "not simply a political economy, nor yet even a philosophy of society, nor a scheme

of reform," but "is a religious faith and is being embodied in a religious organization." As such, the Catholic church has been painfully awakened to it in France, Belgium and Italy. But "Protestantism awaits its awakening to its most formidable rival," of which it is "woefully ignorant." His conclusion is that "if the existing order is to maintain itself, then it must find some more zeal-inspiring dream than any yet on the horizon of either feudal Romanism or individualistic Protestantism." "Perhaps," he adds, "we too might do well to learn again the lessons of success and failure written in the pages of the gradual transformation of primitive Christianity into the Old Catholic Church."

Lincoln Steffens in McClure's Magazine for August has again put Chicago, Illinois, and the whole country under obligation to him for another just judgment upon the commercial corruption of politics, more mercilessly true to the facts as to personal and corporate responsibility than anyone else has dared to give. The power of his appeal to common honesty and civic patriotism lies in the fact that he and his publishers do not hesitate to state the truth of what they print about the men and corporations they name upon all the risks of libel suits which they manfully assume. None who know the strictly bi-partisan character of each of these conspirators, of their bi-partisan "bank" for the deposit of public funds held by their henchmen in either party, or have read their newspaper, (the Chicago *Cameleon*) could honestly think otherwise of them than Lincoln Steffens writes. But he and the McClures only have dared name and brand them as "enemies of the Republic," although the newspaper proprietor and bank president need not be reminded of the public pillory in which the Chicago Tribune previously put him.

#### THE COLORADO SITUATION.

The literature of the Colorado situation, worthy of filing for reference and comparison, begins with Ray Stannard Baker's leader in McClure's Magazine for May, which lodges responsibility primarily upon the failure of the legislature to enact the eight hour law at the mandatory vote of the people. For this failure he holds the lobby of the operators accountable. Washington Gladden followed in three articles written from Colorado for a Columbus, Ohio, paper, with an equally severe arraignment of the lawless corruption in the state legislature, among the mining and smelting corporations and in the Western Federation of Miners. Walter Wellman, special correspondent of the Chicago *Record-Herald*, in a series of extended reports from Colorado, completed August 14, graphically sketched the situation and told the "stories" of the men who figured most notoriously in them. His conclusion was an unreserved and unmitigated condemnation of the Western Federation of Miners, and an arraignment of



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The treatment is concrete and untechnical. A number of important trade and arbitration agreements are given in full, and the standpoint is that of the impartial public, interested in seeing justice done to employers and employed alike.

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its president and secretary by name, as "the men who are to be held morally responsible for this crime against organized labor, this offense against our civilization." And he offers "to convict them before a jury composed of the leaders of the decent, honorable labor organizations of the country." Moreover, he has unqualifiedly justified the use, and even extenuated the abuse of the military power of the state. While he did not doubt the charge to be true that "the corporations used money corruptly to defeat the eight hour legislation," and had "no language strong enough adequately to condemn such crimes by the rich," he insisted that "the eight hour defeat had nothing to do with bringing on the recent troubles. To say that it had is a pretext, an afterthought."

Directly to the contrary, William English Walling writes from Cripple Creek, in his article to the Independent for August 18, on "The Labor 'Rebellion' in Colorado." Mr. Walling was a factory inspector in Illinois, is a resident of the University Settlement in New York City and is said by the editor of the Independent to have made a careful investigation of the troubles in Colorado. "There is being fought out in Colorado today the most momentous issue that has ever faced the working people of this country: is a labor strike a rebellion?" Such is his first sentence. In his last paragraph he asserts "there will be only one political issue before the working people of Colorado: is the machinery of government to be used to crush the unions?" Employers in other states, he thinks, will try the Colorado experiment and fight out the same issue if the Colorado administration is ratified at the polls. If on the contrary the unions, by entering into politics in Colorado, succeed in routing their enemies, the unions of other states will follow their example. And he claims "the union feeling is bitter and the union spirit unbroken." All in between these first and last utterances he insists that "there has been no lawlessness proven against the miners' union since the strike began. There have been no mobs and no riots except those of the Citizens' Alliance. Neither the Federation nor its officers have been convicted of any of the innumerable offenses with which they have been charged." As to the policy pursued by the authorities, he says, "Revolution, not lawlessness, is the word for the actions of the ruling powers in Cripple Creek \* \* \* not only military rule in place of civil government, but a civil revolution approved by the military powers. \* \* \* The Mine Owners' Association and Citizens' Alliance have not disobeyed the officers of the law, they have replaced them."

In the same issue of the Independent, Rev. Charles M. Sheldon briefly sums up the present conditions in the Cripple Creek district in an article written from Trinidad, Colorado. Among his twelve points are the following: The miners have no grievance as to wages;

as a class they live well; every act of physical violence recorded since the beginning of the trouble has been the act of union against non-union men; the aggressors have been, in overwhelming majority, members of the Western Federation; the feeling against the Western Federation is shared by the business men, the churches, the average citizen, and by large numbers of former members of the Federation; the fact most distinct of all seems to be the fact of incompetent, unwise, arrogant, and unauthorized leadership in the Western Federation; unionism is impossible at the present moment so far as the Cripple Creek district is concerned. He makes no attempt to discuss the action of the Citizens' Alliance nor to defend the state in its military occupation of the district. While open to discussion as connected with the facts in the case, their relation to the tragedy "does not and cannot change the facts themselves."

#### THE STOCK YARDS STRIKE.

From the very heart of "the front" in the Stock Yards struggle Mr. Ernest Poole wrote in the Independent for July 28, a fair and descriptive statement of the issues on which the lines of battle are drawn. In collaboration with William Hard, of the Chicago Tribune's editorial staff, he follows this up in the Outlook for August 13 with an article on "Competitive Wages and the Right to Live." It goes to the bottom of the phrasing in which the statements and counter statements of the contestants are couched, and roots the real question at issue in the "right to live" versus "the law of supply and demand." This issue is best stated by the Polish doctor in Packingtown, who is quoted as saying, "Any man who has a family of little children here simply cannot keep it alive on the un-American wage of \$6 or \$7 a week, especially since the cost of living is rising so high. \* \* \* With no money for wholesome recreation, and with the home so overcrowded with boarders, it is natural enough that drinking is so heavy, and that in many cases immigrant wives and daughters grow inured to sexual immorality—or rather unmorality. \* \* \* I have never had a child come to me for treatment who has not had enlarged glands of the neck. These glands are meant to absorb poisonous matter. These little children live in homes so foul and overcrowded, they take in so much poison that their glands are overworked. They suffer too from under-feeding and hence anaemia. In the blood of a healthy person the 'count' should be between 85 and 95. Among my patients I rejoice at finding a count of 50. I have found it as low as 28." The authors of this article contend that "arbitration cannot become a science until it has done something to reconcile" decent living conditions on the part of employes with the financial condition of the employers in a determination of wages. They conclude that "the disposition on the part of the people of Packingtown to 'buck

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the fundamental law of supply and demand' for the benefit of those who will come after them, represents their contribution to the science of arbitration."

The contributions of Miss Mary E. McDowell, of the University of Chicago Settlement at the heart of the Stock Yards, to the Chicago papers describing the conditions

under which her neighbor's family life has been and is being lived, is affecting public opinion. Her article with its pictures and the strong analysis of the situation anonymously contributed, both of which appear in this number of *THE COMMONS*, cannot fail to be counted among the original sources of information concerning this historic and pathetic struggle.

## Anthracite Coal Communities\*

With a thorough-going exactness betokening infinite patience, with an eye so sharp that not the smallest fact escapes its scrutiny, and with an orderly precision leaving nothing it treats beclouded with the slightest indefiniteness and indicating careful thought, Mr. Roberts has furnished us with a picture of just what the standard of living prevalent in the anthracite coal fields means. Most clearly is shown how that standard differs when set by the family of an American miner, or, upon the same income, by the family of the Slav. And of great interest is the measurement of the influence exerted by the former type upon the latter.

Starting with the fact that the Slav has been displacing the Anglo-Saxon in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, there is first described the sort of life the Slav leaves in his native country, and we are told that had as his condition in this country may seem to us, it nevertheless is a distinct improvement upon his former existence. The Slav is given credit for many individual virtues such as thrift, efficiency as a miner when well directed, and a disposition to cling to the best of the old customs he brings from the fatherland. His worst sins are intemperance and, what is greatly aggravated by intemperance, an exceeding irritability of temper.

Against the background of his industrious and rather simple home life are portrayed the faults of which he at first knows nothing, but which are very noticeable in the American families. They are an extravagance which leads to spending more than one's income, not through a desire for more refined living, but through an indulgence in useless luxuries of table and dress, a pride in these false economies, and an inclination to ease. The latter is evident not only in an aversion to doing themselves the small chores around the house to save a little, but in the far more serious sin of using illegitimate means to restrict the birth rate; they do not wish the bother of raising a large family and would rather expend upon their foibles and finery every possible penny they do not need for bare subsistence. In marked contrast are the large families of the Slavs. But that the latter are learning to imitate, is to be

noted in many ways, from the adoption by the women of gaudy headgear to the proficiency the men are attaining in political corruption, for which it may in candor be said that Pennsylvania furnishes no inconspicuous example.

The dwelling houses and their inexcusably dilapidated condition are no inconsiderable factor for demoralization, and although the rents are shown to be small, from \$2 to \$9 a month, the companies have been receiving a steady income of 30 per cent. and have scarcely ever done a thing to put them in repair. The evil consequent upon inadequate room is a blunting of all sense of decency and modesty; and ill repair and lack of sanitary arrangements create a terrible rate of infant mortality from disease, not only, but from actual impossibility of keeping out the cold of winter. Mr. Roberts censures with no uncertain terms the failure of the coal companies to improve this situation.

Educational facilities are neither ample nor worthy. The schools suffer from the tender mercies of gross political mismanagement and the only saving grace is the sacrificial personal service of some of the teachers. The records of attendance indicate the proportions of the child labor evil, and as Mr. Roberts says, the coal breaker is the place "where most boys graduate." Sunday papers constitute the main literary interest, and the churches have little effect on the people. Although the Slav attends his Roman Catholic or Greek church fairly regularly, it does not seem to influence the manner in which he spends his Sabbath, which is mainly devoted to drinking and carousal, much less that of his week day life.

The saloon evil is appalling and crime is shown to be much more prevalent than in the average community. The people save a good deal and there is much organization for sick benefits. A great need, however, is for systematic accident insurance which the companies should be made to support, for there is practically no recompense to the worker for the greater risks than other employments involve. Politically, the worst of conditions are found. Aside from the ruin which attends many of the aspirants for political honors, through expenditure of large

\* Anthracite Coal Communities. By Peter Roberts, Ph. D. A Study of the Demography, the Social Educational and Moral Life of the Anthracite Regions. Svo. 384 pp. \$3.50 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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sums of money in the hope of getting "the prize," and the consequent debauchery of the electors, corruption honeycombs everything from legislation at Harrisburg to the health board of the smallest towns.

After summing up the ills, Mr. Roberts discusses "the way to health." This he finds may lead through Harrisburg, through personal service, and through the church. The first of these he would depend upon only for the most urgent palliative measures such as the enforcement of better sanitary laws, compelling the companies to furnish better houses, making more strict the child labor regulations, affording better school opportunities especially along technical lines, and in some way dealing with the saloon evil. He does not set much faith by legislative action under any circumstances, but urges the immense amount of good that can be accomplished by personal effort along such lines as social settlements, by a better regard on the employers' part for the conditions under which their employes work and live, and by helping every endeavor the people themselves make for self-improvement. The church also can become very much more effective, both in the neighborhood life and in holding aloft the ethical standards of the New Testament.

The thing that strikes the reader most forcibly as he lays this book down is the fact that the United Mine Workers' organization is mentioned in a bare half dozen places, and then only in a casual way, and the fact that John Mitchell's name appears but once. It is indeed a wonderfully comprehensive description of how the miner's family lives and an accurate statement of just what it has to live upon, but we venture to say that one of the first questions the public at large wants answered is, how does the union affect this income and this standard of living, what has it done to improve them both, and what may be expected from it? We have here a reference to the educative value of union organization, a suggestion there that if the union is to hold together it must insist more strongly than at present upon abstinence from the drink habit, but as for any consecutive appreciation of the value of the

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union to the community, or its injury as the case may be, it is lacking. We know that the book is called Anthracite Coal Communities and no doubt was designed to describe their life. But we are constrained to ask, is not the miners' union a part of the life of an anthracite coal community?

Are we to infer, too, after all the struggle and hardships endured during the great strike, when the patience of the public and the resources of the men were strained to the utmost, that the union is not to be reckoned among the "ways to health" or the influences to better conditions? Yet no mention of it is to be found in discussion of them.

There seems to be also a little too much stress upon the thrift and saving habits of the Slav. No doubt in many ways that is better than running into hopeless debt. But we find that the Slav will start housekeeping in a three-room house, expend a maximum of \$50 on the furnishings, and then take in boarders, while at the same time he puts money in the bank. We are told on the other hand that the American miner takes a six-room house, gets \$150 worth of furnishings, paying \$35 down, and has a long struggle to overcome his indebtedness. There manifestly is no excuse for buying fancy furniture when at the most the annual income is \$600, but it does seem as if the other extreme is about as bad. No doubt the desideratum is that the Slav should spend his savings toward a real betterment of his standard of living.

A note of paternalism is struck in the tone of the discussion. The failure to consider their unions, which are the chief effort of the men to help themselves, lends strength to this. Legislation is felt not to be worth much, and in Pennsylvania there no doubt is much to give one this opinion. The point is, however, that the legislative channel at least is one where the demand for better conditions is a demand not for charity but for justice. Although the demands of the men for "a wage sufficient to enable them to meet their social and spiritual wants beyond the necessity of keeping body and soul together is just," the emphasis is put in the last chapter upon the personal service way of improving conditions. The companies are urged on the charity plea to improve conditions, and there is the suggestion that the sons of wealth and ease can find an excellent field for their philanthropic enterprises.

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